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**SOCIALIST
CONGRESSIONAL
CAMPAIGN
BOOK**

1914

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Socialist Congressional Campaign Book

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PART I.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY, ITS PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

1. Platform and Resolutions.

The representatives of the Socialist party, in National Convention at Indianapolis, declare that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of plutocracy, which exacts an annual tribute of hundreds of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water-powers of every state in the Union.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry, which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rent, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage earners of this nation as humane and just treatment

as is already enjoyed by the wage earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of them have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave-power before the Civil war. They have been used as instruments for the oppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assembly.

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system, in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and

its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or the triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to Socialism, from wage-slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

Working Program.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the co-operative commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

Collective Ownership.

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

Unemployment.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on

such works to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demands.

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.
4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.
5. By the co-operative organization of the industries in the federal penitentiaries for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents.
6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.
7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.
8. By establishing minimum wage scales.
9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

Political Demands.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.
2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.
3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.
4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.
5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.
6. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President.
7. The election of the President and the Vice-President by direct vote of the people.
8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.
9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in the country.

10. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a department.

13. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions as will secure full liberty to all schools of practice.

14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

17. The free administration of the law.

18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, MAY, 1912.

Administration by Municipal Employes.

Whereas, The party has during the past year secured control of a number of cities, thus becoming the employer of many workers;

Whereas, The party realizes that intelligent administration of government involves the organization of the workers in all departments;

Whereas, The object of the Socialist party is to secure for all workers not only the full product of their labor, but a voice in determining their conditions of work, therefore be it.

Resolved, That the party adopt as a policy to be observed by its representatives in office the organization of workers in all departments under Socialist control so that each department may obtain an organized expression of the workers' point of view on administrative methods and conditions of work.

Propaganda in the Army and Navy.

Whereas, In the class struggle the military is often the first and always the last resort of the ruling class; and

Whereas, The army, the navy, the militia and the police offer a fertile field for the dissemination of Socialist teachings; and

Whereas, The growth of Socialist thought among the armed defenders of capitalism tends to reduce the power of the ruling class to rule and outrage the working class, and thus to end the oppression and violence that labor suffers,

Be it Resolved, That the N. E. Committee be instructed to secure the services of such a comrade or comrades as have made a special study of war and militarism, and that such comrade

or comrades prepare special appropriate leaflets to distribute among soldiers, sailors, militia and police.

Resolved, That the N. E. Committee publish such leaflets and pamphlets and offer for sale through the usual channels, and that in addition an organized effort be made for the distribution of such leaflets among all the armed defenders of capitalist-class rule and among all military organizations and all government homes for disabled soldiers and sailors.

Young People's Socialist Organizations.

Whereas, A fertile and promising field for Socialist education is found among the young people, both because it reaches persons with unprejudiced and unbiased minds, and because it yields the most valuable recruits for the Socialist movement; and

Whereas, If we can gain the ear of a majority of the youth of our country, the future will be ours, with the passing of the present generation; therefore be it

Resolved, That we recommend and urge our Locals to form, encourage and assist Young Socialist Leagues and Young People's Clubs for the purpose of educating our youth in the principles of Socialism, and that this education be combined with social pleasures and athletic exercises; and further

Resolved, That we recommend to the National Executive Committee to give such aid and encouragement to this work as may seem to it best calculated to further the spread of Socialism among the youth of the United States.

Nominating Women Comrades.

Whereas, An increasing number of women are taking part in industrial activity, so that they are today an important factor in economics and social life, and are thereby qualifying themselves for participation in political administration; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Socialist party deems women entitled equally with men to be nominated for and elected to public office, so that they may help manage our common affairs.

Military Education of Children.

Whereas, The capitalist class is making determined and persistent efforts to use the public schools for the military training of children and for the inculcation of the military spirit; therefore be it

Resolved, That we are opposed to all efforts to introduce military training into the public schools, and that we recommend the introduction into our public school system of a thorough and progressive course in physical culture, and

Resolved, That we request the National Executive Committee to suggest plans and programs along this line and furnish these to the party membership, together with such advice in the matter as may be helpful to the party membership in introducing such a system into our public schools.

Temperance.

The manufacture and sale for profit of intoxicating and adulterated liquors leads directly to many serious social evils. Intemperance in the use of alcoholic liquors weakens the physical, mental and moral powers.

We hold, therefore, that any excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquors by members of the working class is a serious obstacle to the triumph of our class since it impairs the vigor of the fighters in the political and economic struggle, and we urge the members of the working class to avoid any indulgence which might impair their ability to wage a successful political and economic struggle, and so hinder the progress of the movement for their emancipation.

We do not believe that the evils of alcoholism can be eradi-

cated by repressive measures or any extension of the police powers of the capitalist state—alcoholism is a disease of which capitalism is the chief cause. Poverty, overwork and overworry necessarily result in intemperance on the part of the victims. To abolish the wage system with all its evils is the surest way to eliminate the evils of alcoholism and the traffic in intoxicating liquor.

The Dillingham Bill.

Whereas, The Dillingham bill passed by the United States Senate would bar from this country many political refugees under a hollow distinction that some political crimes involve "moral turpitude"; and,

Whereas, Such distinctions would destroy the political asylum, heretofore maintained in this country for revolutionists of all lands, as the officials of one country cannot sit in judgment over the methods of political strife and civil war in another country; and,

Whereas, Senator Root's amendment providing for deportation without trial of "any alien who shall take advantage of his residence in the United States to conspire with others for the violent overthrow of a foreign government, recognized by the United States," passed by the United States Senate without a dissenting vote, seeks to establish in this country a passport system for aliens, thus destroying at once the principle that it is the right of every people to overthrow by force, if necessary, a despotic government, declared in the Declaration of Independence, and the principle of individual freedom from police supervision, heretofore held sacred in this country; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the Socialist party in Indianapolis, Ind., on the 16th day of May, 1912, in National Convention assembled, that we protest against this attempt of the United States Senate to turn the government of this country into a detective agency for foreign governments in their persecution of men and women fighting for the freedom of their native lands; be it further

Resolved, That we demand that the United States shall remain, as heretofore, an asylum for political refugees from all countries, without any distinction as to political crimes or supervision of political refugees; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the President of the United States, Speaker of the House of Representatives and to every member of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

Restrictions on Citizenship.

Whereas, The courts in charge of naturalization have shown a disposition to enlarge the interpretation of the rule which prohibits the naturalization of avowed anarchists, so that anyone who disbelieves in the present system of society has been held to be ineligible to become an American citizen; and,

Whereas, This tendency found a most aggravated expression in the revocation of the citizenship of Leonard Olsson, a Socialist, at Tacoma, Washington, by Judge Cornelius Hanford; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Socialist party in convention assembled enters its most emphatic protest against such procedure and points out that the denial of the right of citizenship to foreign born applicants not anarchists because they hold progressive ideas inevitably forces those now voters into the ranks of those who believe in force and violence; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and that we demand of him that an order be issued to the effect that this rule in naturaliza-

tion cases shall be strictly interpreted and not enlarged to include persons who simply hold Socialistic or progressive social ideas.

2. Socialism in Brief.

(a) WHAT IS SOCIALISM.

(A Leaflet issued by the Socialist Party National Office.)

Socialism stands for a new civilization.

It is a world-wide movement of the working class and its sympathizers for better food, better clothing, better homes, more education and culture—in short, a more abundant life.

Socialism starts out with two terrific propositions, to-wit:

1. All men are brothers, not merely brothers in name, but brothers in fact, with a common blood, common interests, common cause. **The welfare of one of us is the brotherly concern of all of us**, and being brethren, all war and strife and hatred should cease.

2. The things that men need in common should be owned in common and supplied for the Common Good, not for private profit.

With these ideas in mind the Socialists make some very definite constructive proposals:

In the political field we demand the rule of the people, i. e. democracy. In the economic field we demand the public ownership and operation of public utilities.

What Socialism Means.

Broadly speaking, it means:

First. That the means of production and distribution of wealth which are social and public in nature should be publicly owned. This would include the coal, oil and iron lands, the rivers, forests and other natural resources. It would also include all the great public utilities, such as railroads, telegraphs, express companies, and in short all the great trusts and monopolies.

Second. That all social utilities, being collectively owned, shall be under democratic control for the benefit of all who work, in order that profit-making, whereby one person exploits another, shall be abolished.

Third. That all who are able shall be given opportunity to labor in the collectively owned industries and each shall receive the full product of his toil.

Fourth. That each shall have for his own private property all that his labor earns of food and clothing, shelter, house and home—books, music, education, recreation and culture.

Fifth. That the government, municipal, state and national, shall be made truly democratic, so that the will and wish of the people may be the law of the land. This will be accomplished by means of the initiative, referendum, recall, proportional representation and other measures making for popular government.

What the Authorities Say.

Against these simple, straightforward proposals of Socialism there has been let loose a flood of misrepresentation. It is said to be anarchy, atheism, free love, "divide up" and a lot of other stupid and impossible things.

No intelligent person holds these views; and anyone who would take the pains to turn to an ordinary dictionary or encyclopedia would soon learn differently.

We quote a few of the recognized authorities:

1. "Socialism.—A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social rela-

tions than that which has hitherto prevailed."—Webster's Dictionary.

2. "A science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of industry."—Worcester's Dictionary.

3. The Encyclopedia Britannica says: "The ethics of socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them."

4. The Standard Dictionary defines Socialism as: "A theory of civil policy that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor thru the public collective ownership of land and capital (as distinguished from property), and the public collective management of all industries."

5. "Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure for every one of the most complete development of his powers." "It is applied Christianity—the Golden Rule applied to everyday life."—Prof. Richard T. Ely.

You are often told that Socialism would destroy property, abolish private ownership or divide up the wealth of the world. As a matter of fact, Socialists have no more idea of abolishing property than they do of abolishing life. They have no more idea of dividing up the world's wealth and sharing it than they have of cutting up their own bodies. Our idea is that private monopoly in the great resources of life means wealth for the few—and toil, hardship and misery for the many. We propose therefore that the public utilities shall be owned by all in order that all may be secure in the possession of the private property which their labor earns.

What Private Monopoly Does to Us.

We all observe how the trusts are constantly advancing the cost of living.

The owners of these trusts and monopolies virtually decide how much we shall pay for our bread and our meat, how much for our kerosene and our coal, and how much we are to spend for our food, clothing, houses, etc.

They also decide what wages we shall receive and the conditions of our labor. In other words, the trusts decide how well or how poorly we are to live, or whether we live at all or not.

Wage Workers Not the Only Sufferers.

And the wage workers are by no means the only ones who suffer from these conditions.

With every increase of power and concentration of wealth the educated and professional class is forced more and more into dependence upon the capitalist. Our teachers, professors, speakers, newspaper editors and writers, and even ministers, doctors and all professional men, are more and more **at the mercy of the capitalist system**, and brought into abject dependence.

Other Parties Offer No Remedy.

These conditions are before our eyes.

And what remedy do the old political parties bring the people?

Parties, like individuals, act from motives of **self-interest**.

Now the old parties are owned by the capitalists. The Republican party by the big capitalist; the Democratic party by the small capitalists; and the Progressive party by the "reform" capitalists who are dissatisfied with the way the other capitalists are managing capitalism and want a "regulated" capitalism.

But they are all capitalist parties. They all stand for capitalism—for the private ownership and operation of the monopolies and the trusts.

There is only one party that offers a real remedy; that stands for an entirely new ideal; that stands against capitalism and for the public ownership and democratic control of the great industries of the nation.

That is the Socialist party.

What It Would Mean.

Let us consider what the changes proposed by Socialism would mean:

1. First of all, it would mean that the wages of the workers would be progressively increased until they received, as nearly as possible, the full products of their toil.

2. It would reduce the cost of living for every one. The trusts being publicly owned and operated at cost and without profit—the cost of the necessities of life would be reduced.

3. Exploitation—or the power of one man or set of men to live off the labor of another man or set of men—would be at an end.

4. No one being able to live off the labor of another, all would be compelled to work—to render some useful service. All who were able to work and refused to do so, if there should be such under Socialism, would receive what they produced—nothing if they produce nothing. The Bible says: "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat."

5. There would be no unemployed—no hungry, weary, hopeless, disheartened men tramping the city streets and country roads begging for work and unable to find it. The state, controlling all natural resources and public utilities, would find work for all.

6. Every young man and woman being able to easily earn a living, marriage would be promoted, the home will be saved, and prostitution and vice will be robbed of their victims.

7. Every adult—father or mother—receiving the full product of their toil, there would be no need of child labor, which forthwith would cease.

8. The fear of want and poverty would be removed; all children would be given an equal opportunity for an education; and the aged and disabled would be pensioned and protected.

9. The workers, receiving their full and just dues, strikes and lockouts would end. Henceforth industrial peace would prevail.

10. Socialism would establish international peace upon the earth. There would be no need to fight for foreign markets. The economic reason for wars would be removed.

And finally, many of the most devoted believers in the Golden Rule, the brotherhood of man and the spiritual ideals of religion, have discovered that Socialism is the program by which their hopes may be realized.

The Greatest Movement in the World Today.

No wonder then that Socialism grows. No wonder it has become already the greatest political movement in the world today.

Beginning in Germany about sixty-five years ago, it has grown steadily in spite of tremendous difficulties, misrepresentations, slanders, persecutions, exile, prison and death—until today it casts more than 11,500,000 votes, elects 832 representatives to the national parliaments and more than 50,000 to the municipal councils of the world.

Here in the United States its vote has grown from 13,704 in 1890, to 901,062 in 1912.

At the time of our latest reports (1913) it had 21 members

in 9 different state legislatures; 43 mayors of cities and towns, and not less than 650 public elected officials.

And the membership and the vote both grow rapidly every year.

The Most Practical Thing in the World.

Socialism is the most practical thing in the world.

Our nation already owns its postal system, its public schools; we build the Panama canal and carry out vast public enterprises. Our cities own their water plants, lighting plants, and are beginning to take over street car lines.

In the last few years a very large number of European cities have taken over and are now operating street railroads, gas, water and electric light plants and other public utilities. Every such acquisition is a step toward Socialism. Almost all the railroads of the world, outside of the United States, are now owned by the various governments. Every time a government acquires a railroad it takes a step towards Socialism.

Everywhere the tendency is in that direction.

From this time on Socialism is bound to come rapidly.

A Constructive Program.

The Socialist party stands squarely upon the principles of international Socialism. It relies upon the education of the people and upon the development of the industrial forces. Both of these factors make for Socialism.

The Socialist party, while it is revolutionary in its final aim, is none the less distinctly evolutionary and constructive in its method.

Every measure that improves conditions is welcomed and supported by Socialists for many reasons.

In the first place, by such measures we can stop the increasing pauperization, and consequently also the enervation of the masses of people.

But the main reason for our favoring such measures is because if logically carried out, they offer the possibility of a peaceful, lawful and orderly transformation of society.

Our Final Aim.

Our aim is: The free democracy with equal economic and political rights; the free society with associative labor. The welfare of all is for us the one end of the state and society.

We seek justice and fight injustice.

We seek free labor and attack wage slavery.

We seek the prosperity of all and struggle against misery.

We seek the education of all and fight ignorance and barbarism.

We seek peace and order and combat the murder of people, the class war and social anarchy.

We seek the Socialist people's state and attack the despotic class state.

Whoever desires these things and struggles for them, let him unite with us and work with all his strength for our cause—for the cause of Socialism—for the cause of humanity, whose victory will soon be gained.

(b) THE MOST FREQUENT OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM ANSWERED.

By A. W. Ricker.

(A Leaflet Published by the Socialist Party.)

That Socialists Want to Divide Up.

Do you mean by this a division of the farms, houses, money and wealth of the country? This would not only be impossible but foolish. We do not stand for a division of property, but

the PUBLIC OWNERSHIP of certain kinds of property. We now publicly own the streets, highways, schools, postoffice system, and in some places the electric light and water systems. We have not divided the postoffices, neither could we if we wanted to. We could not divide what is called the machinery of production and distribution, such as the shops, factories, mines and railroads. These industries are not owned by private individuals now, but by co-operative associations of capitalists, called "trusts." The Socialists propose to transfer the title of property now owned by the trusts to the people of the United States. The only thing we have ever thought of dividing is the opportunity to work in the great public enterprises which, under Socialism, will be open to both men and women. In other words, we propose to divide the jobs.

That Socialism Will Do Away With Private Property.

On the contrary, Socialism will make it easier to get private property. The workers have very little private property. More than 80 per cent of the working people live in rented houses. Their private possessions are few and almost worthless. Their wages are all consumed in cost of living, leaving no chance to accumulate private property. The capitalists ultimately get the wealth created by labor. When the ownership of the industries on which profits are filched from labor passes to the people then the useful workers will get, not only what they now receive, but also that part of their earnings which go to the capitalists as profit. It will then be possible for the working people to own their own homes and such other property as ought to belong to individuals.

That Socialism Is Against Religion.

Socialism is an economic and not a religious question. What a man believes or does not believe about religion does not enter into the solution of the bread and butter question. The capitalist class exploits and robs the working class regardless of what the latter believe about religion, or what is their color, race, or sex. Since the capitalists exploit all of us in common, regardless of whether we are Catholic or Protestant, black or white, male or female, we therefore ought to stand solidly together as a united working class fighting for one common end—our own industrial freedom. The person who seeks to divide the working class by appealing to race or religious prejudice is an enemy of the working people.

That Socialism Is Opposed to the Government.

Socialism is against the government only in so far as the government is administered in the interest of the capitalist class and opposed to the working class. The functions of government will be greatly extended under Socialism. Its chief function will be the co-ordination and administration of the industries of the nation. It will also serve as a bureau of information and a general clearing house of industrial conservation and administration. What is now devoted to battleships and armaments will then be devoted to education, science and improvement of industry.

That Socialism Will Reduce Everyone to a Dead Level.

On the contrary, it is capitalism that is reducing the socially useful class to a dead level—the level of the cheapest wage for which the workers may be had. In this dead level, working side by side, are all colors, both sexes, and people from every race, and there is no escape from **this dead level** under capitalism. If Socialism does establish a level, that level will certainly be a

higher one than is now possible for 80 per cent of the population.

That Socialism Will Destroy the Home and Substitute Free Love for Marriage.

This is the last argument of a dishonest person. Many honest people do not at first understand the economic program of Socialism, but no honest person ever charged the Socialists with a desire to abolish marriage and return to a state of barbarism, simply because nowhere in the literature of Socialism is such a preposterous thing even hinted at. Socialists believe that women are not now possessed of all the rights to which they are as human beings entitled. We propose that when it is possible for all men to have employment, as it will be under Socialism, that the same opportunity shall be open to women. This will forever end prostitution for profit, for no woman will sell her body for bread when it is possible to sell her labor power, and thus honorably support herself. Neither will she rush into matrimony merely for the sake of being supported; nor will she become a burden added to that which the already overloaded man must carry as he does today. She will be an equal and a partner. Instead of destroying the monogamic home, Socialism will give it the first fair chance to exist it has ever had. The home under capitalism is assailed by terrible enemies, such as prostitution, poverty, disease and ignorance. These are the home-breakers, every one of which has an economic cause for existence. These home-breakers will disappear under Socialism.

That We Can't Get Possession of the Machinery of Production and Distribution Now Held by the Capitalist Class.

Sure, we can. And by perfectly legal and constitutional methods, too. Some we can buy. Some we can build ourselves. Some we can get by foreclosure. Some by making provision for public ownership in the franchises, and some we can get by exercising the right of eminent domain.

That You Can't Change Human Nature.

Then you ought to quit preaching to people to be Christlike. You can change humanity just as you can change the small wild peach to the big juicy tame one, the sour crabapple to the big red apple of the orchard, the little speckled ear of corn of the Indian to the big yellow one of the modern cornfield. Human nature has changed from savagery to barbarism, then to civilization. It will change to Socialism, and come to measurable perfection just like the sour crabapple became, under proper environment, a big mellow pippin.

That Socialists Propose to Take the Farmers' Farms Away from Them.

The Socialist has no thought of depriving the farmer of his farm, but on the contrary is after the fellow who is now robbing the farmer. The trusts have not taken the farmer's farm but they have taken the farmer's markets, through the trust ownership of the railroads and transportation system, elevators, storage houses and packing houses. When the produce leaves his hands it is not ready for consumption. It must pass over the railroads of the capitalists, through their mills and storage houses, warehouses, etc. By owning this finishing and distributing machinery the capitalist takes the profit and makes the cost of living high. The capitalist also owns the minerals and the lumber which enter into the manufacture of the machinery—the tools which the farmer must use to prepare the soil, care for and harvest the crops. Socialism will give the farmer not only publicly owned markets, but publicly owned transportation facilities, and machinery made at the labor cost of production. The question which

the farmer must decide very shortly is: "Shall I continue to vote with the capitalists who are skinning me, or with the wage-working class? Shall I vote for Capitalism, which offers me no relief, or for Socialism, which will set us all free?"

That People Won't Rent Farms Under Socialism.

You are right. Some will at first, but when we get things going it will be hard to find a man foolish enough to give half of his products in rents when he can get all that he produces on a publicly owned job. The men who own the farms will have to do the farming. We Socialists see clearly that we will take possession of all the land in the districts that are subject to irrigation, because this kind of farming can be done co-operatively even now much better than it can be done individually. A thorough reconstruction of the farming system is bound to come. Socialists will not force a change on the people, but this change will come in response to the wish and judgment of the farming population. Inasmuch as nearly one-half of all farmers are now tenants, the demand for a change in farm tenure will not be far behind that for a change in the present wage system.

That Socialism Will Destroy Personal Liberty and Force People to Do What They Don't Want to Do.

Mistaken again. Socialism will increase personal liberty for those who have but little now. None of us do exactly as we want to do, not even the rich. Do people want to work in sweat shops; do children want to work in factories in the play-time of life; do women like to wash for a living; does anybody like to clean spittoons; do sheriffs like to evict people from their homes; do judges like to send people to jail; do women like to become prostitutes; does anyone love to hoe cotton in the burning sun? You see we do things because it is necessary to do them more often than because we like to. There will be many unpleasant tasks under Socialism. We will perform them with machinery so far as possible. Our hours will be shorter and our work pleasanter and safer, but we will still do some things we don't want to do.

That Socialism Won't Work.

My dear skeptic, you have said that about every piece of machinery invented. You said of the first railroad that the noise of the engine would dry up the cows and scare the chickens out of the summer crop of eggs. Of the first steamboat, that the boiler would blow up and the ship couldn't carry enough coal to make a trip across the sea. A group of farmers stood about the first self-binder ever put on the platform of your dealer and with a knowing look they said: "Too much machinery, too complicated, never will work." When the first cream separator came out how you laughed at the idea of a piece of machinery getting the cream out of milk. "Nothing but an old crock in the cave would do it," you said. When the first cotton-picking machine came you laughed. "A 'nigger' and a mule is the only way to raise cotton," you said. How you laughed at the first automobile. You don't laugh at these things any more. They are machines which DO work, but most of them are made to work YOU. All are used in such a way as to harvest a bigger crop for the trusts to divide. Now Socialism is an economic machine through which system the people will own the whole process of production and distribution. Those who understand it know it will work. Those who laugh at it are just like those who laughed at the binder and the cream separator.

We Can't Get Along Without a Boss.

About half the people at the time of the revolution said we couldn't get along without a king, but we have. Under Socialism we will have a manager, of course, of each industry. Let's call

this manager the boss for convenience. NOW the boss works for the capitalist. Under Socialism he will work for YOU. NOW he figures to make more profits, for his owner, out of your hides. Under Socialism he will study to make hours shorter and work safer and saner. You will elect him and if he isn't satisfactory you will fire him and get another.

(c) DEFINITIONS OF SOCIALISM.

Standard Dictionary.

"Socialism is a theory of civil polity that aims to secure the reconstruction of society, increase of wealth, and a more equal distribution of the products of labor, through the collective ownership of land and capital, and the public collective management of all industries. Its motto is everyone according to his deeds." (This same definition, word for word, is given in the Standard Encyclopedia.)

Americanized Encyclopedia Britannica, Twentieth Century Edition.

"With regard to religion, Socialism has been, and still is, very frequently associated with irreligion and atheism. The same remark applies to continental liberalism, and partly for a like reason; the absolute governments of the continent have taken the existing forms of religion into their service and have repressed religious freedom. On religion, as on marriage, Socialism has no special teaching."

Century Dictionary.

"Socialism is any theory or system of social organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute for it co-operative action; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor and would make land and capital as the instruments and means of production, the joint possession of the members of the community."

Encyclopedia Britannica.

"Ethics of Socialism and the ethics of Christianity are identical. The general tendency is to regard socialistic any interference undertaken by society in behalf of the poor. In general, it may be described as that movement which seeks, by economic changes, to destroy the existing inequalities of the world's social conditions."

Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia.

"Socialism is a moral reform; it is the vices of mankind and the miseries resulting from these vices to which Socialism wishes to put an end, and it seeks its means not in a new religious issue, but in a new social organization."

American Year-Book, Cyclopedia and Atlas.

"No word has been more abused and misunderstood than the word 'Socialist.' The Socialist is not an anarchist; they are opposed in theory and practice. The Socialist does not propose to destroy the family, abolish religion or divide up property, nor does he seek to carry out his ideas by riot and bloodshed. In a single phrase, Socialism means public ownership of the means of production and working class control of the government, a chance to work for all who will, and to all workers the full value of their product. The typical Socialist is a rather quiet and thoughtful workingman, serene in time of trouble and self-

contained in the day of victory. He realizes that the world will move on very well after he is dead, but remembers that while he lives it is his business to help the world move. He considers himself an ally of eternal laws of nature and is proud to do his little part in the great cause."

Definitions of Individualism.

Webster's Dictionary: "An excessive or exclusive regard for one's personal interest; self-interest; selfishness. (The selfishness of small proprietor has been described by the best writers as individualism.)"

Thomas Huxley: "Anarchy or the rule of one's self is the logical outcome of that form of political theory which for the last half century or more has been known under the name of Individualism."

Surplus Value.

Briefly stated, surplus value is that value produced by the workingman which he does not get, but which goes to the employer and constitutes his profits. To be profitable to his employer the wage worker must produce a value in excess of what he receives as wages. The laborer must not only work long enough and with sufficient intensity each day to produce a value equivalent to his wage, but he must continue his labors to create the portion expected and required by his master. This excess, so produced, is what, in Marxian economics, is called surplus value.

Surplus value is both absolute and relative. The additional value created by prolonging the working day beyond the point necessary to reproduce the value of the worker's wages is called absolute surplus value. The value which is produced by decreasing the necessary or paid labor of the worker in its relation to the surplus or unpaid labor is called relative surplus value. Any means of increasing the intensity of labor or augmenting its productiveness, any improvement in technics or methods which shortens the time in which a given commodity is produced, is a means of extracting relative surplus value. The so-called "Taylor system," for instance, is one of such methods.

Commodity.

A commodity is a product designed for exchange. The wheat a farmer produces for his own consumption is not a commodity; that which he produces for sale is a commodity. Hence, in the words of Marx, "the wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities."

The Class Struggle.

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman—in a word, oppressor and oppressed—stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight—a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes. In the earlier epochs of history we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes again, subordinate gradations. The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression,

new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Materialistic Conception of History.

In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of that epoch.—Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

3. The Socialist Organization and Vote.

(a) STATISTICS ON SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBERSHIP.

Socialist Party Membership, 1901-1912.

| Membership. | Average for each four-year period. |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1901..... 10,000 | |
| 1902..... 20,000 | |
| 1903..... 15,975 | |
| 1904..... 20,763 | 1901-1904 16,684 |
| 1905..... 23,327 | |
| 1906..... 26,784 | |
| 1907..... 29,270 | |
| 1908..... 41,751 | 1905-1908 30,282 |
| 1909..... 41,479 | |
| 1910..... 58,011 | |
| 1911..... 84,716 | |
| 1912 117,984 | 1909-1912 75,547 |

Table of Membership, Dues and National Committeemen. For Year 1913.

| STATE | Dues | Membership | Average Ex- empt Members | Average To- tal Members | National Com- mitteemen |
|----------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Alabama | \$ 170.10 | 283 | 4 | 287 | 1 |
| Arizona | 299.05 | 498 | 8 | 506 | 1 |
| Arkansas | 347.60 | 578 | 46 | 624 | 1 |
| California | 3,513.95 | 5,857 | 400 | 6,257 | 2 |
| Colorado | 618.60 | 1,030 | 80 | 1,110 | 1 |
| Connecticut | 918.25 | 1,530 | 83 | 1,613 | 1 |
| Delaware | 41.00 | 68 | .... | 68 | 1 |
| District of Columbia | 152.10 | 253 | 4 | 257 | 1 |
| Florida | 310.00 | 517 | 43 | 560 | 1 |
| Georgia | 55.00 | 92 | 3 | 95 | 1 |
| Idaho | 489.65 | 818 | 46 | 864 | 1 |
| Illinois | 4,047.35 | 6,745 | 67 | 6,812 | 3 |
| Indiana | 1,378.50 | 2,297 | 53 | 2,350 | 1 |
| Iowa | 672.55 | 1,121 | 17 | 1,138 | 1 |
| Kansas | 1,070.75 | 1,784 | 96 | 1,880 | 1 |
| Kentucky | 220.00 | 367 | 14 | 381 | 1 |
| Louisiana | 215.00 | 358 | 31 | 389 | 1 |
| Maine | 239.70 | 398 | .... | 398 | 1 |
| Maryland | 298.50 | 497 | .... | 497 | 1 |
| Massachusetts | 2,895.30 | 4,825 | 76 | 4,901 | 2 |
| Michigan | 1,731.55 | 2,885 | 54 | 2,939 | 1 |
| Minnesota | 2,916.05 | 4,860 | 67 | 4,927 | 2 |
| Mississippi | 69.05 | 114 | .... | 114 | 1 |
| Missouri | 1,156.85 | 1,928 | 50 | 1,978 | 1 |
| Montana | 857.70 | 1,428 | 30 | 1,458 | 1 |
| Nebraska | 291.90 | 486 | 16 | 502 | 1 |
| Nevada | 402.40 | 670 | .... | 670 | 1 |
| New Hampshire | 341.85 | 568 | .... | 568 | 1 |
| New Jersey | 2,087.65 | 3,479 | 167 | 3,646 | 2 |
| New Mexico | 85.00 | 140 | .... | 140 | 1 |
| New York | 6,164.35 | 10,274 | 783 | 11,057 | 4 |
| North Carolina | 82.00 | 137 | .... | 137 | 1 |
| North Dakota | 802.35 | 1,337 | 16 | 1,353 | 1 |
| Ohio | 3,396.55 | 5,662 | 142 | 5,804 | 2 |
| Oklahoma | 1,701.60 | 2,836 | 16 | 2,852 | 1 |
| Oregon | 925.55 | 1,542 | 58 | 1,600 | 1 |
| Pennsylvania | 5,822.15 | 9,703 | 283 | 9,986 | 4 |
| Rhode Island | 298.25 | 497 | .... | 497 | 1 |

| STATE | Dues | Membership | Average Ex- empt Members | Average To- tal Members | National Com- mittee men |
|---|-------------|------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| South Carolina | 45.00 | 75 | 2 | 77 | 1 |
| South Dakota | 240.50 | 400 | ... | 400 | 1 |
| Tennessee | 138.55 | 230 | 13 | 243 | 1 |
| Texas | 1,263.15 | 2,105 | ... | 2,105 | 1 |
| Utah | 310.55 | 518 | 11 | 529 | 1 |
| Vermont | 133.45 | 222 | 10 | 232 | 1 |
| Virginia | 145.60 | 242 | 13 | 255 | 1 |
| Washington | 2,396.90 | 3,993 | 167 | 4,160 | 2 |
| West Virginia..... | 435.80 | 726 | 13 | 739 | 1 |
| Wisconsin | 2,487.90 | 4,146 | 52 | 4,198 | 2 |
| Wyoming | 414.15 | 690 | 3 | 693 | 1 |
| Unorganized: | | | | | |
| Alaska | 311.00 | 260 | .... | 260 | .. |
| Members at Large | 94.50 | 79 | 4 | 83 | .. |
| Hawaii | 30.00 | 25 | .... | 25 | .. |
| | \$55,532.90 | 92,173 | 3,041 | 95,214 | 64 |
| Translator-secretaries, exempt members..... | | | | 743 | |
| Total average membership, 1913..... | | | | 95,957 | |

Rank of States by Per Cent of Socialist Members (1913).

| Rank | STATE | Average Membership This Year. | Total Population | Population to Each Member |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | Nevada | 652 | 81,875 | 125 |
| 2. | Alaska | 413 | 64,356 | 156 |
| 3. | Washington | 6,288 | 1,141,990 | 182 |
| 4. | Idaho | 1,667 | 325,594 | 195 |
| 5. | Wyoming | 685 | 145,965 | 213 |
| 6. | Montana | 1,647 | 376,053 | 228 |
| 7. | Arizona | 687 | 204,354 | 297 |
| 8. | Oregon | 2,224 | 672,765 | 303 |
| 9. | Oklahoma | 5,027 | 1,657,155 | 330 |
| 10. | North Dakota | 1,613 | 577,056 | 358 |
| 11. | Minnesota | 5,435 | 2,075,708 | 382 |
| 12. | California | 6,087 | 2,377,549 | 391 |
| 13. | Colorado | 1,976 | 799,024 | 404 |
| 14. | Utah | 772 | 373,351 | 484 |
| 15. | Wisconsin | 4,678 | 2,333,860 | 488 |
| 16. | Rhode Island | 423 | 224,326 | 531 |
| 17. | Pennsylvania | 12,921 | 7,665,111 | 593 |
| 18. | Ohio | 7,272 | 4,467,121 | 614 |
| 19. | Kansas | 2,651 | 1,690,949 | 636 |
| 20. | New Jersey | 3,475 | 2,537,167 | 730 |
| 21. | Connecticut | 1,576 | 1,114,756 | 735 |
| 22. | New Hampshire | 580 | 430,572 | 742 |
| 23. | Massachusetts | 4,437 | 3,336,416 | 752 |
| 24. | Indiana | 3,527 | 2,700,876 | 766 |
| 25. | Florida | 939 | 771,139 | 809 |
| 26. | Texas | 4,727 | 3,896,542 | 824 |
| 27. | Illinois | 6,742 | 5,638,591 | 836 |
| 28. | Michigan | 3,247 | 2,810,173 | 865 |
| 29. | New York | 9,699 | 9,113,279 | 940 |
| 30. | West Virginia | 1,198 | 1,221,119 | 1,019 |
| 31. | Missouri | 2,795 | 3,293,335 | 1,178 |
| 32. | New Mexico | 278 | 327,396 | 1,178 |
| 33. | Iowa | 1,879 | 2,224,771 | 1,184 |
| 34. | District of Columbia..... | 273 | 331,069 | 1,213 |
| 35. | Vermont | 281 | 355,956 | 1,267 |
| 36. | Nebraska | 799 | 1,068,484 | 1,337 |
| 37. | Arkansas | 1,121 | 1,574,449 | 1,405 |
| 38. | South Dakota | 388 | 583,888 | 1,505 |
| 39. | Delaware | 132 | 202,322 | 1,533 |
| 40. | Maine | 463 | 742,371 | 1,603 |
| 41. | Maryland | 629 | 1,294,450 | 2,058 |
| 42. | Louisiana | 564 | 1,656,388 | 2,969 |
| 43. | Kentucky | 518 | 2,289,905 | 4,421 |
| 44. | Tennessee | 369 | 2,184,789 | 5,921 |
| 45. | Virginia | 220 | 2,061,612 | 9,371 |
| 46. | North Carolina | 218 | 2,206,287 | 10,121 |
| 47. | Alabama | 211 | 2,138,093 | 10,133 |
| 48. | Mississippi | 144 | 1,797,114 | 12,480 |
| 49. | Georgia | 182 | 2,609,121 | 14,335 |
| 50. | South Carolina | 100 | 1,515,400 | 15,154 |

(b) STATISTICS ON SOCIALIST VOTE.

Growth of Socialist Vote in United States.

| Year. | Soc. Party. | S. L. P. | Total. |
|-----------|-------------|----------|---------|
| 1888..... | | 2,068 | 2,068 |
| 1890..... | | 13,704 | 13,704 |
| 1892..... | | 21,512 | 21,512 |
| 1894..... | | 30,020 | 30,020 |
| 1896..... | | 36,275 | 36,275 |
| 1898..... | | 82,204 | 82,204 |
| 1900..... | 96,931 | 33,405 | 130,336 |
| 1902..... | 223,494 | 53,763 | 277,257 |
| 1904..... | 408,230 | 33,546 | 441,776 |
| 1906..... | 331,043 | 20,265 | 351,308 |
| 1908..... | 424,488 | 14,021 | 438,509 |
| 1910..... | 607,674 | 34,115 | 641,789 |
| 1912..... | 901,062 | 30,344 | 931,406 |

Socialist Vote by States.

| STATE: | 1900 | 1904 | 1908 | 1912 | * Per cent gain over 1908 |
|-------------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------------------------------|
| Alabama | 928 | 853 | 1,399 | 3,029 | 117 |
| Arizona | | 1,304 | 1,912 | 3,163 | 65 |
| Arkansas | 27 | 1,816 | 5,842 | 8,153 | 40 |
| California | 7,572 | 29,533 | 28,659 | 79,201 | 176 |
| Colorado | 684 | 4,304 | 7,974 | 16,418 | 106 |
| Connecticut | 1,029 | 4,543 | 5,113 | 10,056 | 97 |
| Delaware | 57 | 146 | 240 | 556 | 132 |
| Florida | 603 | 2,337 | 3,747 | 4,806 | 28 |
| Georgia | | 197 | 584 | 1,028 | 76 |
| Idaho | | 4,954 | 6,400 | 11,960 | 87 |
| Illinois | 9,687 | 69,255 | 34,711 | 81,249 | 134 |
| Indiana | 2,314 | 12,013 | 13,476 | 36,931 | 174 |
| Iowa | 2,742 | 14,847 | 8,287 | 16,967 | 105 |
| Kansas | 1,605 | 15,494 | 12,420 | 26,779 | 116 |
| Kentucky | 770 | 3,602 | 4,185 | 11,647 | 178 |
| Louisiana | | 995 | 2,538 | 5,249 | 107 |
| Maine | 878 | 2,103 | 1,758 | 2,541 | 45 |
| Maryland | 908 | 2,247 | 2,323 | 3,996 | 72 |
| Massachusetts .. | 9,716 | 13,004 | 10,781 | 12,662 | 17 |
| Michigan | 2,826 | 8,941 | 11,586 | 23,211 | 100 |
| Minnesota | 3,065 | 11,692 | 14,527 | 27,505 | 89 |
| Mississippi | | 393 | 978 | 2,061 | 111 |
| Missouri | 6,128 | 13,009 | 15,431 | 28,466 | 82 |
| Montana | 708 | 5,676 | 5,855 | 10,885 | 86 |
| Nebraska | 823 | 7,412 | 3,524 | 10,185 | 190 |
| Nevada | | 925 | 2,103 | 3,313 | 58 |
| New Hampshire... | 790 | 1,090 | 1,299 | 1,980 | 52 |
| New Jersey..... | 4,609 | 9,587 | 10,253 | 15,928 | 55 |
| New Mexico | | 162 | 1,056 | 2,859 | 171 |
| New York | 12,069 | 36,883 | 38,451 | 63,381 | 65 |
| North Carolina.. | | 124 | 345 | 1,025 | 197 |
| North Dakota... | 518 | 1,017 | 2,421 | 6,966 | 188 |
| Ohio | 4,847 | 36,260 | 33,795 | 89,930 | 166 |
| Oklahoma | 815 | 4,443 | 21,779 | 42,262 | 94 |
| Oregon | 1,495 | 7,651 | 7,339 | 13,343 | 82 |
| Pennsylvania ... | 4,831 | 21,863 | 33,913 | 83,614 | 145 |
| Rhode Island ... | | 956 | 1,365 | 2,049 | 50 |
| South Carolina.. | | 22 | 101 | 164 | 62 |
| South Dakota... | 169 | 3,138 | 2,846 | 4,662 | 64 |
| Tennessee | 410 | 1,354 | 1,870 | 3,504 | 87 |
| Texas | 1,846 | 2,791 | 7,870 | 24,896 | 216 |
| Utah | 717 | 5,767 | 4,795 | 9,023 | 84 |
| Vermont | 371 | 844 | 547 | 928 | 70 |
| Virginia | 145 | 218 | 255 | 820 | 222 |
| Washington | 2,066 | 10,023 | 14,177 | 40,134 | 183 |
| West Virginia .. | 268 | 1,572 | 3,679 | 15,336 | 317 |
| Wisconsin | 7,095 | 28,220 | 28,164 | 33,481 | 21 |
| Wyoming | | 1,077 | 1,715 | 2,760 | 61 |
| Totals | 96,991 | 407,257 | 424,488 | 901,062 | 112 |

*Estimated by W. J. Ghent.

Rank of States by Number of Socialist Votes in 1912.

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------|--------------------|---------|
| 1. Ohio | 89,930 | 26. Utah | 9,221 |
| 2. Pennsylvania | 83,614 | 27. Arkansas | 8,153 |
| 3. Illinois | 81,249 | 28. North Dakota | 6,966 |
| 4. California | 70,201 | 29. Louisiana | 5,249 |
| 5. New York | 63,381 | 30. Florida | 4,806 |
| 6. Oklahoma | 42,262 | 31. South Dakota | 4,662 |
| 7. Washington | 40,134 | 32. Maryland | 3,996 |
| 8. Indiana | 36,931 | 33. Tennessee | 3,504 |
| 9. Wisconsin | 33,481 | 34. Nevada | 3,313 |
| 10. Missouri | 28,466 | 35. Arizona | 3,163 |
| 11. Minnesota | 27,505 | 36. Alabama | 3,029 |
| 12. Kansas | 26,779 | 37. New Mexico | 2,859 |
| 13. Texas | 24,896 | 38. Wyoming | 2,760 |
| 14. Michigan | 23,211 | 39. Maine | 2,541 |
| 15. Iowa | 16,967 | 40. Mississippi | 2,061 |
| 16. Colorado | 16,418 | 41. Rhode Island | 2,049 |
| 17. New Jersey | 15,928 | 42. New Hampshire | 1,980 |
| 18. West Virginia | 15,336 | 43. Georgia | 1,028 |
| 19. Oregon | 13,343 | 44. North Carolina | 1,025 |
| 20. Massachusetts | 12,662 | 45. Vermont | 928 |
| 21. Idaho | 11,960 | 46. Virginia | 820 |
| 22. Kentucky | 11,647 | 47. Delaware | 556 |
| 23. Montana | 10,885 | 48. South Carolina | 164 |
| 24. Nebraska | 10,185 | | |
| 25. Connecticut | 10,056 | Total | 901,062 |

Rank of States by Per Cent. of Socialist Votes in 1912.

| | Per cent Vote | Per cent net Gain |
|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Oklahoma | 16.61 | 95 |
| 2. Nevada | 16.61 | 91 |
| 3. Montana | 13.66 | 61 |
| 4. Arizona | 13.33 | 84 |
| 5. Washington | 12.43 | 61 |
| 6. California | 11.76 | 59 |
| 7. Idaho | 11.31 | 72 |
| 8. Oregon | 9.74 | 47 |
| 9. Florida | 9.26 | 22 |
| 10. Ohio | 8.70 | 189 |
| 11. Wisconsin | 8.37 | 35 |
| 12. Texas | 8.25 | 208 |
| 13. Minnesota | 8.23 | 88 |
| 14. North Dakota | 8.04 | 216 |
| 15. Utah | 8.03 | 78 |
| 16. Kansas | 7.33 | 122 |
| 17. Illinois | 7.09 | 136 |
| 18. Pennsylvania | 6.65 | 148 |
| 19. Louisiana | 6.61 | 96 |
| 20. Arkansas | 6.57 | 71 |
| 21. Wyoming | 6.52 | 43 |
| 22. Colorado | 6.16 | 104 |
| 23. New Mexico | 5.79 | 208 |
| 24. West Virginia | 5.71 | 302 |
| 25. Indiana | 5.64 | 201 |
| 26. Connecticut | 5.28 | 96 |
| 27. Michigan | 4.23 | 97 |
| 28. Nebraska | 4.09 | 210 |
| 29. Missouri | 4.04 | 88 |
| 30. South Dakota | 4.01 | 62 |
| 31. New York | 3.99 | 71 |
| 32. New Jersey | 3.68 | 68 |
| 33. Iowa | 3.45 | 106 |
| 34. Mississippi | 3.19 | 111 |
| 35. Rhode Island | 2.63 | 40 |
| 36. Massachusetts | 2.59 | 10 |
| 37. Alabama | 2.57 | 92 |
| 38. Kentucky | 2.35 | 176 |
| 39. New Hampshire | 2.25 | 56 |
| 40. Maine | 1.96 | 19 |
| 41. Maryland | 1.72 | 77 |
| 42. Vermont | 1.48 | 74 |
| 43. Tennessee | 1.41 | 93 |
| 44. Delaware | 1.14 | 128 |
| 45. Georgia | .85 | 93 |
| 46. Virginia | .60 | 233 |
| 47. North Carolina | .42 | 223 |
| 48. South Carolina | .33 | 120 |

(c) THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Membership, Vote and Parliamentary Representation of the World—1912-1914.

| Country: | Membership | Vote | Parliament Socialist Total |
|---------------------|------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| Argentina | 4,000 | 48,000 | 10 120 |
| Australia | 200,000 | 678,012 | 66 111 |
| Austria | 289,524 | 1,053,627 | 82 516 |
| Belgium | 269,830 | 483,241 | 40 186 |
| Bulgaria | 6,000 | 85,489 | 20 211 |
| Canada | 6,180 | 15,857 | ... .. |
| Denmark | 52,000 | 107,412 | 36 114 |
| Finland | 51,798 | 310,503 | 90 200 |
| France | 63,358 | 1,398,771 | 101 597 |
| Germany | 982,850 | 4,250,399 | 110 397 |
| Great Britain | 100,000 | 378,839 | 42 670 |
| Greece | 1,000 | 12,000 | ... 181 |
| Hungary* | 100,000 | ... | ... .. |
| Italy | 40,000 | 997,000 | 79 508 |
| Luxembourg | ... | 4,000 | 7 53 |
| Netherlands | 20,623 | 145,588 | 18 100 |
| New Zealand | 52,000 | 44,960 | 4 80 |
| Norway | 43,557 | 124,594 | 23 123 |
| Portugal | 3,500 | 3,308 | 1 164 |
| Roumania | ... | 2,057 | ... .. |
| Russia | 168,000 | 200,000 | 14 442 |
| Servia | 3,000 | 25,000 | 2 166 |
| South Africa | ... | 26,098† | 7 121 |
| Spain | 40,000 | 40,791 | 1 406 |
| Sweden | 70,000 | 229,339 | 73 230 |
| Switzerland | 31,384 | 105,000 | 15 189 |
| United States | 118,045 | 931,406 | ... 531 |
| Totals | 2,716,649 | 11,701,291 | 841 6,416 |

In addition to the vote and membership figures as given above, there are also Socialist movements in Armenia, Bolivia, Chili, China, Cuba, Iceland, Japan, Newfoundland, Persia, Turkey and Uruguay. In Australia, New Zealand and South Africa the figures given include the vote of the Labor parties, as well as the Socialist parties. These Labor parties are not in all respects in accord with the International Socialist organization, but for practical purposes may be considered Socialist.

*This party membership figure is furnished by A. Loewy, Hungarian translator-secretary in the United States. Most of the Socialists are disfranchised in Hungary on account of property qualifications.

†In Transvaal only.

Socialists Alone Make Gains.

This table gives one of the reasons "why Socialists smile": 1908.

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Bryan (Dem.) | 6,409,104 |
| Taft. (Rep.) | 7,678,908 |
| Chafin (Pro.) | 253,840 |
| Gilhaus (Soc. Labor) | 13,825 |
| Debs (Soc.) | 424,488 |

1912.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------|---------|
| Wilson (Dem.) | 6,291,878 | Loss | 117,226 |
| Taft and Roosevelt (Rep.) | 7,608,234 | Loss | 69,674 |
| Chafin (Pro.) | 208,762 | Loss | 45,078 |
| Reimer (Soc. Labor) | 30,344 | Gain | 16,519 |
| Debs (Soc.) | 901,062 | Gain | 476,574 |

The table disproves the popular impression that there was a Democratic landslide. As a matter of fact, Wilson in 1912 received 117,226 less votes than Bryan in 1908. In spite of their victory the Democrats have, therefore, lost. Taft this year received only 3,484,806 votes. Adding to this the 4,123,428 votes that Roosevelt received, the combined Republican-Progressive vote still falls 69,674 short of the Republican vote of 1908. The Prohibitionists are also on the toboggan slide.

On the other hand, both the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor party more than doubled their 1908 vote.

A few more years of this and the world is ours.

The Socialist Vote and the Public School.

The lowest per capita school assessment is in the state of South Carolina, amounting to only \$1.43.

The smallest proportional Socialist vote is also in the state of South Carolina, where there is only one Socialist voter to every 9,240 people.

Ignorance and illiteracy are the greatest foes of Socialism.

4. Socialism and Its Critics.

(a) SOCIALISM AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

A Catholic Defense of Socialism.

(A Leaflet issued by the Socialist Party.)

Some of the leading Catholic scholars of America recently issued a protest against the famous "Encyclopedia Britannica," alleging that many of its articles misrepresent the Roman Catholic church and its religion.

If the charge is true, every fair-minded man and woman will sympathize with the protest. It is a shame that millions of earnest men and women should be misrepresented.

Perhaps our Catholic friends will now be able to appreciate how the Socialists feel when they are misrepresented and libeled in Catholic papers and by priests speaking from the altar.

We have been glad to notice a growing sense of fairness on the part of Catholic journals toward Socialism. "The Catholic World," for example, does not indulge in vulgar abuse, but uses fair argument.

That is all we ask.

Now we observe that a good many Catholic papers are printing long extracts from a remarkable speech delivered by the Hon. Charles Russell, son of Lord Russell of Killowen, at the Annual Congress of the Catholic Young Men's Society of Great Britain.

This eminent British Catholic's fairness affords a striking contrast to the appeals to prejudice and passion made by Father Vaughan, to whom, by the way, the distinguished speaker paid his respects.

Mr. Russell believes that Socialism is not practicable, that it would "destroy all incentive to effort and invention." We believe he is wrong, and we ask for a candid study of our reply to these hoary objections.

We give the greater part of the speech, and trust that it will help to dispel the prejudice of many an honest Catholic.

Speech by Hon. Charles Russell:

"The first thing we have to consider is the question, what is the origin of the present Socialistic movement? It is to be found in the present deplorable and appalling state of society. We have, on the one hand, prodigious growth of wealth in a few hands, nearly three-fourths of the land of England is held by ten thousand people, while twelve thousand men own two-thirds of our industries. Accompanying this we have among the rich an unparalleled growth of luxury and extravagance; on the other hand, we have growth of poverty and destitution, a want of work, an increase in sweating and misery among the poor.

"The race is deteriorating, and we have to admit that, out of a population of 45,000,000, 12,000,000 are on the verge of starvation. We have the greater part of the owners of great wealth doing nothing to remedy the evil conditions of the poor. As

Cardinal Gibbons has said, 'No friend of his race can contemplate without painful emotions the heartless monopolists and grasping avarice which has dried up every sentiment of sympathy, and sordid selfishness which is deaf to cries of distress. Their whole aim is to realize large dividends without regard to the claims of justice and charity. These trusts and monopolies, like the Car of Juggernaut, crush every obstacle that stands in their way, they compel their operatives to work for starvation wages, especially in mining districts and factories, where protests are but a feeble effort and are easily stifled by intimidation.'

"That is the state of affairs which has brought about the rapid growth of Socialistic views, and is it to be wondered at that thoughtful men should seek a new remedy and should have come to the conclusion that the present conditions of affairs must be ended and cannot be mended. Of course, if all the world were to live up to the teachings of the Master, things would not be as they exist, but the human race being what it is, a remedy remains to be found. I do not for a moment suggest Socialism as the remedy, but this is true, I think, that except upon lines of Socialism there is at the present moment no other remedy proposed. **THE BURDEN IS UPON ANYBODY WHO DENOUNCES SOCIALISM TO SUGGEST AN ALTERNATIVE, BUT UP TO THE PRESENT MOMENT SOCIALISM ALONE HOLDS THE FIELD.**

"Now, Socialism is denounced by many of our Catholic priests and Catholic laymen as something abominable which no Catholic can support or tolerate, and Socialists are declared to be fools or knaves; and that is the attitude which I wish you to examine today. Again, I repeat I am not a Socialist, but I want to ask you whether this attitude toward Socialism is either just or wise?

"Its definition is well known and admitted. It is the municipalization of the sources of production of wealth, or, in other words, it is a system under which the State is to own all the productive businesses and manufactories in a country instead of their being owned, as at present, by a fortunate and favored section of the community.

"Now, in the first place, a moment's reflection will at once reveal this: That Socialism is not a thing which can be brought about by either violence or revolution. Being a state of affairs which means a complete change in the habits and thoughts of mankind, it can only be achieved by a slow, gradual change. It must be accomplished by evolution, not revolution.

"In the next place, may I point out that at first sight, and indeed I may say at second sight, **THERE IS NOTHING ON THE FACE OF THAT PROPOSITION WHICH IS CONTRARY TO CHRISTIANITY OR CATHOLICISM.** Indeed, in this and other Christian countries, we have gone a good way along the road which leads to the ultimate realization of that condition. The state in different instances owns telephones, water supply, tramways, gas supply, telegraphs, the postal service, the railway service and the tobacco, and I confess I have not noticed any material change for the better or worse taking place in the religion or morals of the tramway officials or passengers, or of the telephone operators, since those systems have been transferred to the State.

"In what, then, can it be said that Socialism is un-Christian and un-Catholic? One way in which this is endeavored to be **established is the assertion** that it means the expropriation without compensation by the State of private properties of individuals, but this is not necessarily so, and the leading Socialist parties in this country do not advocate for a moment any such proceeding. They are, in fact, strongly opposed

to it. We have already arrived at the municipalization of industries, representing tens of thousands of millions of money, without adopting such a course.

"But even supposing that Socialism did mean the expropriation without compensation (which it does not), I am tempted to ask, is it therefore either anti-Christian or anti-Catholic? It is admitted that the State has a right to tax property of the subject, BUT DOES NOT A RIGHT TO TAX INVOLVE NECESSARILY A RIGHT TO TAKE IF IT SHOULD BE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD THAT THE PROPERTY SHOULD BE TAKEN?

"It is perfectly moral and right to take a twentieth part of a man's property, as is done by income tax at present, or a tenth part, as is done often by death duties, or a fourth part, as is done by increment tax. But if it be admitted that it is right and proper to take a twentieth, a tenth, a fourth for the good of the State, why is it un-Christian and immoral, if the State needs it, to take the whole? Where does virtue cease and vice begin? I submit that it must logically follow that the right to tax must necessarily involve the right to take. Test the matter in another way. Does anybody deny the right of a State to insist upon its subjects becoming soldiers and giving up their lives for the good of the State? If the State can take a man's life when it is for the good of the nation to do so, surely it has also the right to take his property for the same object.

"Again, I wish to repeat I am not a Socialist. I STRONGLY OBJECT AND PROTEST AGAINST SOCIALISM BEING FOUGHT UPON WRONG LINES AND, TO MY MIND, IT IS FIGHTING IT ON WRONG LINES TO DENOUNCE IT ON THE GROUND OF RELIGION AND MORALITY. It is not only unfair fighting, but, like the rest of unfair fighting, it is a very foolish procedure, because if all the forces of religion are turned against Socialism, it will inevitably follow in course of time that all the forces of Socialism will necessarily be turned against religion, whereas if Socialism is met, as it ought to be met, and fought on the battleground of economical principles, we will then be meeting it and fighting it on a fair field with no favor. Of course, I am quite aware of the argument which will be mentioned against me: That I should have referred to the writings and speeches of individual Socialists who denounce religion and discourse upon a grotesque morality of their own. Those are the views of individual Socialists, whose views are to be deplored and denounced, but they are the views of individual Socialists. It is a mere confusion of the very serious and grave issues at stake to rely upon them in a discussion like this. It would be as logical to denounce the medical profession because many of them abuse their knowledge, or artists or poets, because so many stoop to use their talents to pander to vice. It would be as reasonable to denounce Liberalism, the Liberal party, because John Morley is an avowed agnostic, or Toryism because Mr. Balfour to a large extent shares the same views. The enemies of religion and the enemies of morality are to be found in all ranks and in all parties. IT IS A CURIOUS THING TODAY THAT THE MOST VIOLENT ANTI-CHURCH POLITICIAN IN FRANCE IS ALSO ONE OF THE MOST VIOLENT ANTI-SOCIALISTIC LEADERS; I REFER TO M. CLEMENCEAU.

"Now, as I have said, let us meet Socialism and fight it with the proper weapons. Let us point out the evils of Socialism, the impracticability of Socialism; that it must necessarily destroy all incentive to effort and invention.

"These and kindred arguments, which it is not our business to go into tonight, are those which are to be employed to battle

Socialism, but I PROTEST MOST STRONGLY AGAINST THE FULMINATION OF RELIGIOUS THUNDER-BOLTS, EVEN WHEN THEY ARE DELIVERED BY OUR GENIAL FRIEND, FATHER BERNARD VAUGHAN, FROM A SELECT PLATFORM IN THE QUEEN'S HALL, A DUKE IN THE CHAIR, AND ROTHSCHILD'S BAND DISCOURING SWEET MUSIC.

"Persuasion sometimes makes converts — denunciations never. NOTHING YOU CAN SAY OR DO WILL PREVENT THE MASS OF THE NATION LISTENING TO THE TEACHINGS OF SOCIALISM. The people know and feel the mortal disease from which they are suffering, and they will listen to all serious people who propose a remedy. They will listen, too, to you if you are prepared to show the falseness of the remedy; but mere wholesale abuse and denunciations will merely make them turn away in disgust and drive them in the very direction from which you wish to divert them."

Catholic Priest Denies That Socialists Stand for "Free Love."

In an address delivered under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus, at the Nevada Theater on Tuesday, April 1, 1913, on "Socialism and the State," the Rev. Peter C. Yorke, D. D., of Oakland, California, said as follows:

"Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to talk, and I am sure you don't want me to talk about free love and any of this truck that you hear people bringing up about and against Socialism. . . . I can't imagine that there could be any more opportunities for free love or things of that kind in a Socialistic state than you have today. If people want community free love, it isn't because they haven't plenty of opportunities."

Catholic Church Fathers Believed in Community of Goods and Denounced Riches.*

The Socialists contend for the collective ownership of the principal means of production and distribution. It will be seen from the quotations that follow that the church-fathers went much further and advocated the common ownership of all property.

(From "The Alleged Socialism of the Church Fathers," by Rev. John A. Ryan, D. D. Published by B. Herder.)

St. John Chrysostom (347-407): It is a vice of the rich when they retain among themselves those things which they possess; for this injures them and others. . . . Neither is any one able to become rich without injustice. . . . When each one endeavors to usurp a certain portion, in order to make it his own, a quarrel arises, as if nature were moved to indignation when we, whom God has gathered together, endeavor to divide and separate ourselves, to acquire those common goods as our own, and to utter those chilling words, "mine" and "thine." Then comes contention; then quarrels. Where there is none of this, contention and strife do not arise. For this reason, community of goods rather than chance-determined private property was bestowed upon us, and is according to nature.

St. Basil (329-379): To whom, he says, do I injury when I retain and conserve my own? Which things, tell me, are yours? Whence have you brought your goods into life? You are like one occupying a place in a theater, who should prohibit others from entering, treating that as his own which was designed for the common use of all. Such are the rich. Because they pre-occupy common goods, they take these goods as their own. . . .

Clement of Alexandria (150-215): I know that God has given us the use of goods, but only as far as is necessary; and

He has determined that the use be common. It is absurd and disgraceful for one to live magnificently and luxuriously when so many are hungry.

St. Ambrose (340-297): This is not, indeed, according to nature; for nature gives all things in common to all. So God commanded all things to be created in such a way that food should be common to all, and the earth the common possession of all. Nature, therefore, created the common right; usurpation made the private right. . . . You do not give to the poor man of your own, but of his. That which was given for the common use of all, you have usurped for yourself. The earth belongs to all, not to the rich; but those who enjoy their shares are fewer than those who do not. Therefore, you are paying a debt, not bestowing a gift. . . . Since, therefore, he is your equal, it is unjust that he is not assisted by his fellow man, especially since the Lord our God has willed this earth to be the common possession of all men, and its fruits to support all.

St. Jerome (340-420): All riches come from iniquity, and unless one has lost, another cannot gain.

Catholic Writer Defends Economic Interpretation of History.

(From "Socialism, Promise or Menace," by Hillquit and Ryan. The Macmillan Co., page 230.)

One of the best works in English in defense of the economic interpretation of history comes from the pen of a prominent and orthodox Catholic priest. This scholarly book is entitled "History of Economics, or Economics as a Factor in the Making of History," and its author is the Rev. J. A. Dewe, late professor of the Catholic College of St. Thomas in St. Paul. It is published by Benziger Brothers, "printers to the Holy Apostolic See," and its fly-leaf bears the indispensable "Nihil Obstat" of the Catholic book censor as well as the official Imprimatur of Archbishop, now Cardinal, John M. Farley.

The summary of the author's economic and historical views, contained in his introduction, reads like a page from Frederick Engels. "It is evident," says the Reverend Dewe, "that economics must have an almost unbounded influence on human conduct, both public and private. For the great majority spend the greater part of their time either in producing or distributing wealth, and, from the point of view of extension, the time that an ordinary man has to employ in earning his daily bread is greater than that which he can possibly expend in explicit acts of religion. This all-pervading activity of economics is still more apparent in the state or commonwealth. In the whole course of ancient and modern history there is scarcely any single important political event that has not been caused, either directly or indirectly, by some economic influence.

"Religion and physical causes may also have been present, but the economic factor seems to have been the most constant and the most pervasive."

Dr. Ryan Admits the Soundness of the Economic Interpretation of History.

(Idem, page 105.)

To-day almost all our political problems and activities are entirely or fundamentally economic. Even the ethical notions of men vary considerably according to their industrial interests. Consider, for example, the different moral judgments passed respectively by employers and employes upon the strike, the boycott, the closed shop, judicial injunctions, and the definition of fair wages and fair profits.

Does the Catholic Church Stand For Community of Wives Because the Monk Campanella Did?

From the Encyclopedia Britannica (ninth edition), vol. 4, pp. 571 ff., the following statements:

Tomaso Campanella (1568-1639), "in his fifteenth year he entered the order of the Dominicans.

"He was placed first in the convent at Morgentia in Abruzzo, and after completing his course of philosophy was transferred to Cosenza, there to study theology.

"Campanella was strictly orthodox, held the established faith, and was an uncompromising advocate of the Pope's temporal power.

"In practical philosophy Campanella was an extreme reformer. In his *Civitas Solis* he sketches an ideal state, in which principles of communism are fully carried out. He contends for a community of goods and wives, for state control of population, and for a universal military training."

Vol. XVIII, p. 245.

"In the history of Paraguay down to the latter part of the eighteenth century, the interest develops along two main lines, the struggle between Spaniard and Portuguese for the possession of the border region, and the formation and defense of a great philanthropic despotism by the Jesuits. The first Christian missions in Paraguay were established by the Franciscans . . . but neither they nor the first Jesuit missionaries . . . were allowed to make their enterprise a permanent success. This fell to the lot of the second band of Jesuits, Cataldino, Mazeta and Lorenzana, who began work in 1605."

"Socialism before the French Revolution," by William B. Guthrie, Macmillan Co., 1907, page 166, says:

"Probably no body of men ever so completely controlled the economic aspects of society as did the Jesuits. The general propositions laid down touching the efforts of the Jesuits society at complete social control, find their best expression in the theories contained in the 'City of the Sun,' of Thomas Campanella."

Page 170. "In the system devised by Campanella there was community of wives. He abandoned the monogamous family. The dwellers in his ideal city have all things in common, even the women. This custom they defend from the writing of the Apostolic Fathers, the writings of Clement, Socrates, Cato and Plato. In brief but unmistakable terms the celibate monk advises the Platonic theory of community of wives; it is defended as scriptural, historical and expeditious.

"That Campanella's teaching had its influence on the Jesuits' system seems also true. The two men most influential in Jesuit society were Italians, Cataldino and Maceta. They were, in all likelihood, known to Campanella; there was also in all probability, a common knowledge of the principles they so vigorously applied. On this Kirckenheim says: 'Such was the Christian social state of the Jesuits in Paraguay, of which Campanella in the prison had written. It is evident that this state agreed not merely in general principles but in its details with the scheme of Campanella.' 'The philosophic writers and these practical reformers attempted to build a state after a given mechanical form.'"

(b) SOCIALISM VS. SYNDICALISM.

Syndicalism Defined.

Syndicalism is represented in the United States by the Industrial Workers of the World and the Syndicalist Union of America.

John Spargo in "Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism" defines Syndicalism as follows:

The word "Syndicalism" is, in popular usage, the French equivalent of the English term "trade unionism." In English, the word "syndicate" is used to describe a combination of capitalists to promote some particular enterprise or speculation. In France the word is more widely applied and denotes any association of persons formed to promote special interests held by those comprised in the association. Thus our English term "trade unionism" is translated into French as "Syndicates ouvriers," that is, syndicates or associations of workers. Etymologically, therefore, the French word "Syndicalisme" connotes the system or policy of any kind of "syndicate." But in popular use it is applied almost exclusively to labor unionism. We may say then that Syndicalism is only the French name for labor unionism. . . .

Syndicalism is a form of labor unionism which aims at the abolition of the capitalist system based upon the exploitation of the workers, and its replacement by a new social order free from class denomination and exploitation. Its distinctive principle as a practical movement is that these ends are to be attained by the direct action of the unions, without parliamentary action or the intervention of the State. The distinctive feature of its ideal is that in the new social order the political State will not exist, the only form of government being the administration of industry directly by the workers themselves.

A Socialist Criticism of Syndicalism.

(From *Violence and the Labor Movement*, by Robert Hunter. Published by Macmillan Company. Page 259.)

The syndicalists propose to force society to put the means of production into the hands of the trade unions. It is perhaps worth pointing out that Owen, Proudhon, Blanc, Lassalle, and Bakounin all advocated what may be called "group socialism." This conception of future society contemplates the ownership of the mines by miners, of the railroads by the railway workers, of the land by the peasants. All the workers in the various industries are to be organized into unions and then brought together in a federation. Several objections are made to this outline of a new society. In the first place, it is artificial. Except for an occasional co-operative undertaking, there is not, nor has there ever been, any tendency toward trade-union ownership of industry. In addition, it is an idea that is today an anachronism. It is conceivable that small federated groups might control and conduct countless little industries, but it is not conceivable that groups of "self-governing," "autonomous," and "independent" workmen could, or would, be allowed by a highly industrialized society to direct and manage such vast enterprises as the trusts have built up. If each group is to run industry as it pleases, the Standard Oil workers or the steel workers might menace society in the future as the owners of those monopolies menace it in the present.

The Non-Political Attitude of the Syndicalists.

(From *"Violence and the Labor Movement,"* by Robert Hunter. Published by Macmillan Company. Page 261-263.)

Although this "group socialism"—or syndicalism—would certainly necessitate a parliament in order to harmonize the conflicting interests of the various productive associations, there is nothing, it appears, that the syndicalist so much abhors. He is never quite done with picturing the burlesque of parliamentarism. While, no doubt, this is a necessary corollary to his antagonism to the State, it is aggravated by the fact that one

of the chief ends of a political party is to put its representatives into Parliament. The syndicalist, in ridiculing all parliamentary activity, is at the same time, therefore, endeavoring to prove the folly of political action.

The powerlessness of parliaments may be easily exaggerated. To say that they are incapable of constructive work is to deny innumerable facts of history. Laws have both set up and destroyed industries. The action of parliaments has established gigantic industries. The schools, the roads, the Panama Canal, and a thousand other great operations known to us today have been set going by parliaments. Tariff laws make and destroy industries. Prohibition laws have annihilated industries, while legality, which is the peculiar product of parliaments, has everything to do with the ownership of property, of industry, and of the management of capital. For one who is attacking a legal status, who is endeavoring to alter political, juridical, as well as industrial and social relations, the conquering of parliaments is vitally necessary.

Syndicalists Believe in Minority Rule.

(From "Violence and the Labor Movement," by Robert Hunter. Published by Macmillan Company. Pages 264-265.)

The consistent opposition of the syndicalists to the State is leading them desperately far, and we see them developing, as the anarchists did before them, a contempt even for democracy. The literature of syndicalism teems with attacks on democracy. "Syndicalism and Democracy," says Emile Pouget, "are the two opposite poles which exclude and neutralize each other. Democracy is a social superfluity, a parasitic and external excrescence, while syndicalism is the logical manifestation of a growth of life, it is a rational cohesion of human beings, and that is why, instead of restraining their individuality, it prolongs and develops it." Democracy is, in the view of Sorel, the regime *par excellence*, in which men are governed "by the magical power of high sounding words rather than by ideas; by formulas rather than by reasons; by dogmas, the origin of which nobody cares to find out, rather than by doctrines based on observation." Lagardelle declares that syndicalism is post-democratic. "Democracy corresponds to a definite historical movement," he says, "which has come to an end. Syndicalism is an anti-democratic movement." These are but three out of a number of criticisms of democracy that might be quoted. Although natural enough as a consequence of syndicalist antagonism to the State, these ideas are nevertheless fatal when applied to the actual conduct of a working class movement. It means that the minority believes that it can drive the majority. We remember that Guerard suggested, in his advocacy of the general strike, that, if the railroad workers struck, many other trades "would be compelled to quit work." "A daring revolutionary minority conscious of its aim can carry away with it the majority." Pouget confesses: "The syndicalist has a contempt for the vulgar idea of democracy—the inert, unconscious mass is not to be taken into account when the minority wishes to act so as to benefit it" He refers in another place to the majority, who may be considered as human zeros. "Thus appears the enormous difference in method," concludes Pouget, "which distinguishes syndicalism and democracy; the latter, by the mechanism of universal suffrage, gives direction to the unconscious . . . and stifles the minorities who bear within them the hopes of the future."

This is anarchism all over again, from Proudhon to Goldman. But, while the Bakounists were forced, as a result of these views, to abandon organized effort, the newest anarchists

have attempted to incorporate these ideas into the very constitution of the French Confederation of Labor. And at present they are, in fact, a little clique that rides on the backs of the organized workers, and the majority cannot throw them off so long as a score of members have the same voting power in the Confederation as that of a trade union with ten thousand members.

The General Strike.

(From "Violence and the Labor Movement," by Robert Hunter. Published by Macmillan Company. Pages 274-275.)

It is urged that labor alone is absolutely necessary to production and that if, in a great general strike, it should cease production, the whole of society would be forced to capitulate. And in theory this seems unassailable, but actually it has no force whatever. In the first place, this economic power does not exist unless the workers are organized and are practically unanimous in their action. Furthermore, the economic position of the workers is one of utter helplessness at the time of a universal strike, in that they cannot feed themselves. As they are nearest of all classes to starvation, they will be the first to suffer by a stoppage of work. There is still another vital weakness in this so-called economic theory. The battles that result from a general strike will not be on the industrial field. They will be battles between the armed agents of the State and unarmed masses of hungry men. Whatever economic power the workers are said to possess would, in that case, avail them little, for the results of their struggles would depend upon the military power which they would be able to manifest. The individual worker has no economic power, nor has the minority, and it may even be questioned if the withdrawal of all the organized workers could bring society to its knees. Multitudes of the small propertied classes of farmers, of police, of militiamen, and of others would immediately rush to the defense of society in the time of such peril. It is only the working class theoretically conceived of as a conscious unit and as practically unanimous in its revolutionary aims, in its methods, and in its revolt, which can be considered as the ultimate economic power of modern society. The day of such a conscious and enlightened solidarity is, however, so far distant that the syndicalism which is based upon it falls of itself into a fantastic dream.

The Socialist Party Opposes "Sabotage."

(From the National Constitution of the Socialist Party. Article II. Sec. 6.)

Any member of the party who opposes political action or advocates crime, sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party. Political action shall be construed to mean participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work along the lines of the Socialist Party platform.

Origin of the Word "Sabotage."

(From Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism. By

John Spargo. Published by B. W. Huebsch. Page 147.)

The word "sabotage" was first used, I believe, in 1897 in a report of the Congress of the Confederation Generale du Travail, which met that year at Toulouse. Among the reports considered by the congress was one dealing with the use of the boycott and the policy which had been adopted by the British unions of workers engaged in the trades connected

with the ocean transport services, popularly known as Ca 'Canny. This report was written by Emile Pouget and Paul Delassale, both well known anarchists. They wanted to find a French equivalent for the Scotch colloquialism, Ca 'Canny, as the purpose of their report to the congress was to elaborate the British policy known by that name and recommend it to the French unions. They "coined" the word sabotage. Never before had it been used.

In France, especially in the rural districts, it has long been the custom to liken the slow and clumsy worker to one wearing wooden shoes, called "sabots." The phrase, Travailler a coups de sabots, to work as one wearing wooden shoes, has long been used with reference to the slow and clumsy worker, the "old soldier," as they say in England. It is so used, I think, by Balzac. The idea is obvious; the peasant with heavy wooden shoes walks clumsily and slowly in comparison with those who wear shoes of leather. So the word "sabotage"—literally "wooden shoeage"—was coined by Pouget and by him and Delassale used in their report to the Toulouse Congress of the **Confederation Generale du Travail** as a good translation of the British term Ca 'Canny.

Why the Socialist Party Opposes Sabotage.

(From "Are There Classes in America?" by Ralph Korngold.)

This pamphlet can be obtained from the national office of the Socialist Party for 10 cents.

John Spargo, in his excellent book "Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism," defines sabotage as "an essentially furtive and stealthy policy practiced by individual workers, having for its aim the obstruction of industry and business to such an extent that the employers will suffer a loss of profits so great as to compel them to grant the workers' demands. . . It may involve violence, or it may be peaceful. It may involve destruction of property, or it may not. It may be based on illegal acts, or it may not. It may consist of telling lies, or of telling the simple truth."

This is probably as inclusive a definition as can be framed of so elusive a doctrine. Because of this very elusiveness it is impossible for anyone to say that he is opposed to all acts that go under the name of sabotage. Surely no one can be opposed to "telling the simple truth." The advocates of sabotage are, as a rule, shrewd enough to bring out in their discussions of the subject only such inoffensive forms of sabotage as no one can object to, and which, by right, should not be branded with the name at all.

Mr. Arturo M. Giovannitti, translator of Pouget's book, "Sabotage," defines it as "A—Any conscious and willful act on the part of one or more workers intended to slacken and reduce the output of production in the industrial field in order to secure from their employer better conditions, or to enforce those promised, or to maintain those already prevailing, when no other way of redress is open. B—Any skillful operation on the machinery of production intended not to destroy it or permanently render it defective, but only to temporarily disable it and put it out of running condition; in order to make impossible the work of scabs, and thus secure the complete and real stoppage of work during a strike."

While Mr. Giovannitti's definition is sufficient to damn sabotage as a working class weapon, yet it by no means defines the doctrine, but merely gives the bounds to which Mr. Giovannitti, seeing danger ahead, would like the believers in sabotage to confine themselves. In practice, sabotage means what a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, a firm believer in sabotage, told me that it means to him and his fellow-work-

ers—"ANYTHING OR EVERYTHING THAT WE THINK IS GOING TO HELP US WIN."

I have tested this simple definition repeatedly in my association with believers in the doctrine, and I have found that this is what sabotage means to the men on the firing line who become imbued with the doctrine.

The Socialist Party is opposed to sabotage and has repudiated it in convention, by referendum vote, and by vote of its national committee. One who practices or advocates sabotage can no longer be a member of the Socialist Party. In this the Socialist Party of America has taken a stand in harmony with the stand taken by the Socialist Parties of other nations.

The Socialist Party does not take this position because of any pharisaical moral scruples. The reasons for our opposition are many, but all of them have to do with the demoralizing effect sabotage has upon the working class movement and upon the workers themselves.

The effect of sabotage upon the working class movement is disastrous because it tends to substitute individual action for class action. It takes the emancipation of the working class out of the hands of that class, and entrusts it to the bravado of individuals. The doctrine, therefore, is essentially individualistic and delights the heart of the anarchist. As in nearly every case the practice of sabotage requires stealth and secrecy, the unions would be honeycombed with spies and provocators, suspicion would be sown, and the working class solidarity destroyed; the labor movement would be outlawed and conspiracies would take the place of labor union meetings.

The average working man believes in the rule of the majority. He believes that laws, even those affecting capitalist property, should be obeyed as long as they are on the statute books, and a labor movement which dedicates its best efforts to the systematic and secret breaking of the law would lose the ear of the working class. Sabotage, therefore, while it may injure the individual capitalist, would help to perpetuate the capitalist system by estranging the workers from the Socialist and labor union movements. The capitalists know this, and for this reason often are willing to pay to have acts of sabotage committed, in order to be able to thrust the blame upon the Socialist and labor union movements. There is, of course, the further danger of having the working class movement become the pawn in the struggle of rival capitalists who would offer bribes to labor union men to put competitors out of business. In the same manner the terrorist movement in Russia unwittingly became the weapon of one court faction against another.

Still more disastrous is the influence of sabotage upon the individual who practices it. The **STRONGEST ARGUMENT AGAINST SABOTAGE IS THE SABOTEUR**. The Jesuitical doctrine that the end justifies the means, with which the believer in sabotage becomes impregnated, renders him untrustworthy, not merely as a workman, but as a comrade in the battle for freedom.

To believe that a working class which sneers at truth and common honesty as "capitalistic notions" can bring about a society which would be an improvement on what we have today, is to believe the impossible. Honesty and dependability in the workers, while benefiting the capitalist class today, are indispensable for the society of the future. We dare not corrupt ourselves—not even to spite the capitalists!

(c) INDUSTRIALISM IN THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Frank Hayes, Vice-President of the United Mine Workers, writes as follows concerning the movement for industrial organization, in the American Federation of Labor:

"In the recent A. F. of L. convention held at Rochester, the charter of the Steam Fitters' Union was revoked and they were instructed to affiliate with the Plumbers' Union. The convention went on record in favor of but one union in the pipe fitting industry. As a result of this merger, there will be no more jurisdictional disputes between steam fitters and plumbers in the pipe fitting industry, but they will all work together in one union for the common cause.

"At the Atlanta A. F. of L. convention in 1911 the charter of the Wood Workers' Union was also revoked, and they were instructed to merge into the Carpenters' Union, which means that there is now but one union in the wood working trade. In brief, economic conditions are forcing the various craft unions to merge, and as these conditions become more pressing, more of these mergers will be in evidence.

"Our organization, the United Mine Workers of America, has always been an industrial organization. For instance, there are fifteen or more trades represented in the mining industry, such as miners, engineers, blacksmiths, machinists, carpenters, drivers, electricians, tracklayers, timbermen, trappers, day laborers, etc., all belonging to the one union—the United Mine Workers of America. The coal hoisting engineers thought they would be able to organize a craft union in the mining industry, separate and distinct from the United Mine Workers of America, but I am pleased to report that this union did not exist for any great length of time, and that it was absorbed by our organization in 1904, and since that time every craft in the mining industry is enrolled under one banner.

"The same applies to the Western Federation of Miners, which has jurisdiction over all metal miners in the country, and the same condition likewise obtains in the Brewery Workers' organization and I might also say that the sentiment for Socialism is very strong in all three of these organizations. I want to say further that there is nothing in the law of the American Federation of Labor that prevents the crafts in any one industry from merging into one union, and forming an industrial union. There is no law to prevent the five different unions in the printing trade from merging into one union, and all the various unions in the clothing trades, or the building trades, and I feel satisfied that when the members of these various organizations come to fully understand the benefits of industrial unionism, they will organize along industrial lines.

"As an indication of the tendency in this direction, let me refer you to the department idea, established by the A. F. of L. a few years ago. We now have in the A. F. of L. the building trades department and several other departments representing different lines of industry. These trade departments hold meetings annually, and discuss questions of interest to the various trades represented in the department. The effect of these departments will be to educate the members along industrial lines, and I am of the opinion that the result will be a final merging of all the trades in these departments into industrial unions, and then we will have a Building Trades Union of America, embracing within its folds all men employed in the building trades; the Printing Trades Union, embracing all workers in that industry; the Metal Trades Union of America, embracing all the workers engaged in that industry, etc.

"The workers have the right now, if they see fit, under the

A. F. of L. law to merge their organizations with others in the same industry, and so the criticism that the A. F. of L. prevents such action is very misleading. All of the international unions connected with the A. F. of L. exercise complete autonomy and enjoy to the fullest extent the rights of self-government. The A. F. of L. has no authority to dictate to any union as to how its business shall be conducted. In brief, the A. F. of L. has very little power. It is practically nothing more or less than a national legislative body, or you might term it a loose federation of international unions, each international union retaining its independence and working out its own problems in harmony with the ideas of the majority of its membership."

PART II.

THE CAPITALIST PARTIES,—FUTILITY OF THEIR REMEDIES

1. The Republican Party.

(a) REPUBLICAN PLATFORM—1912.

The Republican party, assembled by its representatives in the national convention, declares its unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. We renew our allegiance to the principles of the Republican party, and our devotion to the cause of Republican institutions established by the fathers.

It is appropriate that we should now recall with a sense of veneration and gratitude the name of our first great leader, who was nominated in this city, and whose lofty principles and superb devotion to his country are an inspiration to the party he honored—Abraham Lincoln. In the present state of public affairs we should be inspired by his broad statesmanship and by his tolerant spirit toward men.

Looks Back on Record With Pride.

The Republican party looks back upon its record with pride and satisfaction and forward to its new responsibilities with hope and confidence. Its achievements in government constitute the most luminous pages in our history. Our greatest national advance has been made during the years of its ascendancy in public affairs. It has been genuinely and always a party of progress; it has never been either stationary or reactionary. It has gone from the fulfillment of one great pledge to the fulfillment of another in response to the public need, and to the popular will.

We believe in our self-controlled representative democracy, which is a government of laws, not of men, and in which order is the prerequisite of progress.

Constitution Has Been Effective.

The principles of constitutional government, which makes provision for orderly and effective expression of the popular will, for the protection of civil liberty and the rights of men, and for the interpretation of the law by an untrammelled and independent judiciary have proved themselves capable of sustaining the structure of a government which, after more than a century of development, embraces one hundred millions of people, scattered over a wide and diverse territory, but bound by common purpose, common ideals, and common affection to the Constitution of the United States.

Under the constitution and the principles asserted and vitalized by it, the United States has grown to be one of the great civilized and civilizing powers of the earth. It offers a home and an opportunity to the ambitious and the industrious from other lands. Resting upon the broad basis of a people's

support and managed by the people themselves, the government of the United States will meet the problems of the future as satisfactorily as it has solved those of the past.

• Social Legislation.

The Republican party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statesmanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of these new questions, which social, economic and political development have brought into the forefront of the nation's interest. It will strive, not only in the nation, but in the several states, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health; to limit effectively the labor of women and children, and to protect wage earners engaged in dangerous occupations; to enact comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation laws in place of the present wasteful and unjust system of employer's liability; and, in all possible ways to satisfy the just demand of the people for the study and solution of the complex and constantly changing problems of social welfare.

In dealing with these questions it is important that the rights of every individual to the freest possible development of his own powers and resources, and to the control of his own justly acquired property, so far as those are compatible with the rights of others, shall not be interfered with or destroyed. The social and political structure of the United States rests upon the civil liberty of the individual; and for the protection of that liberty the people have wisely, in the national and state constitutions, put definite limitations upon themselves and upon their governmental officers and agencies. To enforce these limitations, to secure the orderly and coherent exercise of governmental powers, and to protect the rights of even the humblest and least favored individuals are the function of independent courts of justice.

Upholding the Courts.

The Republican party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both state and federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. An orderly method is provided under our system of government by which the people may, when they choose, alter or amend the constitutional provisions which underlie that government. Until these constitutional provisions are so altered or amended, in orderly fashion, it is the duty of the courts to see to it that when challenged they are enforced.

That the courts, both federal and state, may bear the heavy burden laid on them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion, we favor legislation to prevent long delays, and the tedious and costly appeals which have so often amounted to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases.

Since the responsibility of the judiciary is so great, the standards of judicial action must be always and everywhere above suspicion and reproach. While we regard the recall of judges as unnecessary and unwise, we favor such action as may be necessary to simplify the process by which any judge who is found to be derelict in his duty may be removed from office.

International Treaties.

Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth; it believes most earnestly in the peaceful settlement

of the international disputes, and in the reference of all justifiable controversies between nations to an international court of justice.

Monopoly and Privilege.

The Republican party is opposed to special privilege, and to monopoly. It placed upon the statute book the interstate commerce act of 1887, and the important amendments thereto, and the anti-trust act of 1890, and it has consistently and successfully enforced the provisions of those laws. It will take no backward step to permit the re-establishment in any degree of conditions which were intolerable.

Experience makes it plain that the business of the country may be carried on without fear or without disturbance and at the same time without resort to practices which are abhorrent to the common sense of justice. The Republican party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing anti-trust act which will define as criminal offenses those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action, and that those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished.

The same certainty should be given to the law prohibiting combinations and monopolies that characterizes other provisions of commercial law, in order that no part of the field of business opportunity may be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honorably achieved may not be converted into crime, and that the right of every man to acquire commodities, and particularly the necessities of life, in an open market uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination may be preserved.

Federal Trade Commission.

In the enforcement and administration of federal laws governing interstate commerce and enterprises impressed with a public use engaged therein, there is much that may be committed to a federal trade commission, thus placing in the hands of an administrative board many of the functions now necessarily exercised by the courts. This will promote promptness in the administration of the law and avoid delays and technicalities incident to court procedure.

The Tariff.

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage earners the American standard of living. The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment. The products of the farm, and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

Expert Commission Needed.

We hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages. Some of the existing import duties are too high, and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to changing conditions and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry. To accomplish this correct information is indispensable.

able. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the tariff board has demonstrated.

The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. The Republican party has shown, by its creation of a tariff board, its recognition of this situation and its determination to be equal to it.

We condemn the Democratic party for its failure either to provide funds for the continuance of this board or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation. We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on these vitally important subjects without careful investigation. We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the house of representatives of the Sixty-second congress as sectional, as injurious to the public credit, and as destructive of business enterprises.

Cost of Living.

The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of nation but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions in countries which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced.

The Republican party will support a prompt scientific inquiry into the causes which are operative, both in the United States and elsewhere, to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts are known it will take the necessary steps to remove any abuses that may be found to exist, in order that the cost of the food, clothing and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

Banking and Currency.

The Republican party has always stood for a sound currency and for safe banking methods. It is responsible for the resumption of specie payments and for the establishment of the gold standard. It is committed to the progressive development of our banking and currency system.

Our banking arrangements today need further revision to meet the requirements of current conditions. We need measures which will prevent the recurrence of money panics and financial disturbances, and which will promote the prosperity of business and the welfare of labor by producing constant employment. We need better currency facilities for the movement of crops in the west and south. We need banking arrangements under American auspices for the encouragement and better conduct of our foreign trade.

In attaining these ends, the independence of individual banks, whether organized under national or state charters, must be carefully protected, and our banking and currency system must be safeguarded from any possibility of domination by sectional, financial or political interests.

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that the financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business. Therefore, we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries, and the

passage of state and federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for their purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

The Civil Service.

We reaffirm our adherence to the principle of appointment to public office based on proved fitness and tenure during good behavior and efficiency. The Republican party stands committed to the maintenance, extension and enforcement of the civil service law, and it favors the passage of legislation empowering the President to extend the competitive service so far as practicable. We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the civil service, in order that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We favor the amendment of the federal employer's liability law so as to extend its provisions to all government employes, as well as to provide a more liberal scale of compensation for injury and death.

Campaign Contributions.

We favor such additional legislation as may be necessary more effectually to prohibit corporations from contributing funds, directly or indirectly, to campaigns for the nomination or election of the President, the Vice-President, senators and representatives in Congress.

We heartily approve the recent act of Congress requiring the fullest publicity to all campaign contributions, whether made in connection with primaries, conventions or elections.

Conservation Policy.

We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our national resources, for their use by the people without waste and without monopoly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of such a policy.

We favor such fair and reasonable rules and regulations as will not discourage or interfere with actual bona fide home-seekers, prospectors and miners in the acquisition of public lands under existing laws.

Parcels Post.

In the interest of the general public, and particularly of the agricultural or rural communities, we favor legislation looking to the establishment, under proper regulations, of a parcels post, the postal rates to be graduated under a zone system in proportion to the length of carriage.

Protection of American Citizenship.

We approve the action taken by the President and the Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States, and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted.

Immigration.

We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of appropriate laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration, which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States.

Servitude at Sea.

We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude,

and that life and property at sea shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with life-saving appliances, and with full complements of skilled, able-bodied seamen to operate them.

Republican Accomplishments.

The approaching completion of the Panama Canal, the establishment of a bureau of mines, the institution of postal savings banks, the increased provision made in 1912 for the aged and infirm soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and for their widows, and the vigorous administration of the laws relating to pure food and drugs, all mark the successful progress of Republican administration, and are additional evidence of its effectiveness.

Economy and Efficiency in Government.

We commend the earnest effort of the Republican administration to secure greater economy and increased efficiency in the conduct of government business. Extravagant appropriations and the creation of unnecessary offices are an injustice to the taxpayers and a bad example to the citizens.

The Navy.

We believe in the maintenance of an adequate navy for the national defense, and we condemn the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing to authorize the construction of additional ships.

Merchant Marine.

We believe that one of the country's most urgent needs is a revived merchant marine. There should be American ships, and plenty of them, to make use of the great American inter-oceanic canal now nearing completion.

Flood Prevention in Mississippi Valley.

The Mississippi river is the nation's drainage ditch. Its flood waters, gathered from thirty-one states, and the Dominion of Canada, constitute an overpowering force, which breaks the levees and pours its torrents over many million acres of the richest lands in the union, stopping mails, impeding commerce and causing great loss of life and property.

These floods are national in scope, and the disasters they produce seriously affect the general welfare. The states unaided can not cope with this giant problem; hence we believe the federal government should assume a fair proportion of the burden of its control so as to prevent the disasters from recurring floods.

Reclamation.

We favor the continuance of the policy of the government with regard to the reclamation of arid lands; and for the encouragement of the speedy settlement and improvement of such lands we favor an amendment to the law that will reasonably extend the time within which the cost of any reclamation project may be repaid by the land owners under it.

Rivers and Harbors.

We favor a liberal and systematic policy for the improvement of our rivers and harbors. Such improvements should be made upon expert information and after careful comparison of the cost and prospective benefits.

Alaska.

We favor a liberal policy toward Alaska to promote the development of the great resources of that district, with such safeguards as will prevent waste and monopoly.

We favor the opening of the coal lands to development through a law leasing the lands on such terms as will invite development and provide fuel for the navy and commerce of the Pacific ocean, while retaining title in the United States to prevent monopoly.

Philippines Policy.

The Philippine policy of the Republican party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation, which should remain entirely free from partisan politics.

Lynchings.

We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings, and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and the observance of it. Indifferent citizenship is an evil from which the law affords no adequate protection and for which legislation can provide no remedy.

Arizona and New Mexico.

We congratulate the people of Arizona and New Mexico upon the admission of those states, thus merging in the union in final and enduring form the last remaining portion of our continental territory.

Republican Administration.

We challenge successful criticism of the sixteen years of Republican administration under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. We heartily reaffirm the endorsement of President McKinley contained in the platforms of 1900 and 1904 and that of President Roosevelt contained in the platforms of 1904 and 1908.

We invite the intelligent judgment of the American people upon the administration of W. H. Taft. The country has prospered and been at peace under his presidency. During the years in which he had the co-operation of a Republican Congress an unexampled amount of constructive legislation was framed and passed in the interest of the people and in obedience to their wish. That legislation is a record on which any administration might appeal with confidence to the favorable judgment of history.

We appeal to the American electorate upon the record of the Republican party and upon this declaration of its principles and purposes. We are confident that under the leadership of the candidates here to be nominated our appeal will not be in vain; that the Republican party will meet every just expectation of the people whose servant it is; that under its administration and its laws our nation will continue to advance; that peace and prosperity will abide with the people; and that new glory will be added to the great republic.

(b) BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

(Excerpts from "Business" by Charles Edward Russell.)

Few parties have had nobler origin. The innermost hearts of men, the last sublimity of their souls, told them that the unrighteousness of slavery had gone far enough. Conscience could endure no more. There was a moral revolt against the sin and crime and shame of this thing: men put their backs to the wall and said they would endure no more. * * *

Early Scandals.

Being thus born of what may be called a passion for righteousness, and withstanding well the first test of an unequaled

crisis, there was substance for a time in the familiar boast of its champions that it was a party of moral ideas.

But it paid the almost certain penalty of great success and the passing of the original moral impulse. With the close of the war, the progress of reconstruction, the long lease of power, there began to be sown and reaped successive crops of scandals; the Freedmen's Bureau, the Credit Mobilier, the Whisky Ring frauds, the back salary grab, the abuse of the franking privilege, stained, one after another, the good record. Moreover, for the sake of success upon one issue it had bartered away justice on another issue. Thereby it had implanted in its heart the germ of its own ruin, and this distemper quickly began to manifest itself. * * *

It was called the Protective Tariff. * * *

The Protective Tariff.

Being thus committed to Protection (which was an old whig doctrine) the exigencies of the Civil War furnished an excuse for an abnormally high degree of protection, and the country saw the heaviest import duties it had ever known. * * *

It produced the first great menacing fortunes we had in this country. * * *

It developed a new and powerful set of Privileged Interests that before long began to dominate national affairs in much the same manner as the slaveholding Privileged Interests had dominated affairs before the Civil War. * * *

The new interests made their huge profits, by means of an unfair advantage upon the public. This advantage they secured from legislation; the legislation lay in the hands of the men who directed the party and wished to remain in power, and the success of the party could be secured (most often) by campaign subscriptions. The Interests paid over the counter their campaign subscriptions and helped themselves to more privileges from the national shelves. This is the true nature of the transaction.

Campaign Contributions Corrupt the Party.

The necessity of great campaign funds was first chiefly to make "aggressive campaigns" of noise and fictitious enthusiasm and to "get out the vote;" but after a while the venal element came to be very important, until its manipulation was a craft or a business in which both parties had about equal shares, varying with the amounts of their respective campaign funds. Thus the business of buying high tariff duties or other governmental favors at the top became colonization, false registration, and wholesale bribing when it had filtered to the bottom, and what was a huge evil at the source was a monstrous crime in the full stream. * * *

The whole thing was rotten and produced a huge crop of still worse rottenness. The example of monstrous fortunes suddenly gathered with the help of the Government through the tariff, started a brood of fortune gatherers that wanted other advantages. If one set of men could prey on the public in one way, another set naturally wanted to prey on it in another way. The Standard Oil Company, of whose law-breaking the famous and comic \$29,000,000 fine covers an infinitesimal part, marshaled the way to corporation knavery. Evolution fell in upon the same side. The sure process of consolidation and improved economy made great corporations inevitable, and the great and enormously powerful corporations became in turn bargainers with campaign subscriptions, and the once splendid Republican party, the first breath of whose life had been opposition to the

Interests, became of the Interests the bound slave and beaten lackey.

The Interests Control.

The Interests selected its candidates, wrote its platforms, dominated its conventions, and dictated its policy. * * *

Only one thing kept them from imminent death. The party that opposed it came to be dominated in the same way, by the same influences, for the same reasons, and to about the same extent. * * *

That year, in 1880, saw the first widespread use in national politics of two devices since become of familiar usage. The first was the systematic purchase of great quantities of votes in doubtful states; and the second, what may be called the Useful Art of Distorting the Issue. The Interests, through a controlled press, assiduously diverted the campaign from its normal channels; and they bought, in Ohio and Indiana (the two states upon which the election of General Garfield depended), whatever votes they needed. Their agents went out and bought openly, as one would buy potatoes or corn, until they knew they had enough. * * *

At the Presidential election of 1892 the situation changed a little, for the Interests reverted to the plan of 1884 (which had been found to be cheap and efficient), and secured control of both parties by securing control of certain leaders. There had also developed other Interests than the Protected Interests. The trusts and the banks (having practically the same owners) were now more important than the manufacturers, and these made sure at the very beginning that they should have nothing to fear. What campaign funds the Interests contributed that year were evenly divided between the two parties and this division materially reduced the normal Republican supply. * * *

Meantime there had come over conditions in the country a very great change. The supremacy of the corporations and the Interests had become as the supremacy of the slaveholding Interests had been in 1850. It was, in fact, a national scandal. The Republican party found itself in exactly the same position as the old Democratic party before the war. Born to oppose the Interests, it had ended by becoming the chattel. The efforts to revive dead issues failed, and Congress was forced into a series of attempts to deal with the increasing evil by regulating it. When these efforts to curb corporation power came to be scanned, their practical futility was apparent. * * *

The Republican party being obviously owned by the Interests, and therefore become inert, had avoided the only vital issue of the times, and men laughed and sneered at its stale platitudes and ridiculous bombast concerning the things long moribund.

As is the race of leaves so is the race of parties. To this melancholy downfall had come the party of Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, Thaddeus Stevens and Abraham Lincoln, and all from one reason. It had ceased to mean anything to the great cause of man—and when that happens to a party or to a person in this world, the party or the person is dead. * * *

2. The Democratic Party.

(a) DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—1912.

We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government under the Constitution has no right or power to impose or collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue, and we demand that the collection of such taxes shall be limited to the necessities of government honestly and economically administered.

The high Republican tariff is the principal cause of the

unequal distribution of wealth; it is a system of taxation, which makes the rich richer, and the poor poorer; under its operations the American farmer, and laboring men are the chief sufferers; it raises the cost of the necessities of life to them, but does not protect their product or wages. The farmer sells largely in free markets, and buys almost entirely in the protected markets. In the most highly protected industries, such as cotton and wool, steel and iron, the wages of the laborers are the lowest paid in any of our industries. We denounce the Republican pretense on that subject and assert that American wages are established by competitive conditions, and not by the tariff.

We favor the immediate downward revision of the existing high, and in many cases prohibitive tariff duties, insisting that material reduction be speedily made upon the necessities of life. Articles entering into competition with trust controlled products and articles of American manufacture which are sold abroad more cheaply than at home should be put upon the free list.

We recognize that our system of tariff taxation is intimately connected with the business of the country and we favor the ultimate attainment of the principles we advocate by legislation that will not injure or destroy legitimate industry.

We denounce the action of Taft in vetoing the bills to reduce the tariff in the cotton, woolen, metals and chemical schedules, and the farmers' free list bill, all of which were designed to give immediate relief to the masses from the exactions of the trusts.

The Republican Party, while promising tariff revision, has shown by its tariff legislation that such revision is not to be in the people's interests, and, having been faithless to its pledges of 1908, it should no longer enjoy the confidence of the nation. We appeal to the American people to support us in our demand for a tariff for revenue only.

High Cost of Living.

The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican Party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject, and charge that excessive prices result in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessities of life are materially reduced, and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

We insist upon the full exercise of all the powers of the government, both state and national, to protect the people from injustice at the hands of those who seek to make the government a private asset in business. There is no twilight zone between the nation and the state in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both. It is as necessary that the federal government shall exercise the powers delegated to it as it is that the states shall exercise the powers reserved to them, but we insist that federal remedies for the regulation of interstate commerce and for the prevention of private monopoly shall be added to and not substituted for state remedies.

Income Tax and Popular Election of Senators.

We congratulate the country upon the triumph of two important reforms demanded in the last national platform, namely, the amendment of the federal constitution authorizing an income tax, and the amendment providing for the popular election of senators, and we call upon the people of all states to rally to the

support of the pending propositions and secure their ratification.

Anti-Trust Law.

A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. We therefore favor the vigorous enforcement of the criminal as well as the civil law against trust and trust officials, and demand the enactment of such additional legislation as may be necessary to make it impossible for a private monopoly to exist in the United States.

We favor the declaration by law of the conditions upon which corporations shall be permitted to engage in interstate trade, including, among others, the prevention of holding companies, of interlocking directors, of stock watering, of discrimination in price, and the control by any one corporation of so large a proportion of any industry as to make it a menace to competitive conditions.

We condemn the action of the republican administration in compromising with the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust, and its failure to invoke the criminal provisions of the anti-trust law against the officers of those corporations after the court had declared that from the undisputed facts in the record they had violated the criminal provisions of the law.

We regret that the Sherman anti-trust law has received a judicial construction depriving it of much of its efficiency, and we favor the enactment of legislation which will restore to the statute the strength of which it has been deprived by such interpretation.

Rights of the States.

We believe in the preservation and maintenance in their full strength and integrity of the three co-ordinate branches of the federal government—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—each keeping within its own bounds, and not encroaching upon the just powers of either of the others.

Believing that the most efficient results under our system of government are to be attained by the full exercise by the states of their reserved sovereign powers, we denounce as usurpation the efforts of our opponents to deprive the states of any of the rights reserved to them, and to enlarge and magnify, by indirection, the powers of the federal government.

Presidential Primaries.

The movement toward more popular government should be promoted through legislation in each state which will permit the expression of the preference of the electors for national candidates at presidential primaries.

We direct that the national committee incorporate in the call for the next nominating convention a requirement that all expressions of preference for presidential candidates shall be given and the selection of delegates and alternates made through a primary election conducted by the party organization in each state where such expression and election are not provided for by state law. Committeemen who are hereafter to constitute the membership of the democratic national committee and whose election is not provided for by law shall be chosen in each state at such primary elections and the service and authority of committeemen, however chosen, shall begin immediately upon the receipt of their credentials, respectively.

Campaign Contributions.

We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign

fund and any individual from contributing any amount above a reasonable maximum.

Term of President.

We favor a single presidential term, and to that end urge the adoption of an amendment to the constitution making the president of the United States ineligible to re-election, and we pledge the candidate of this convention to this principle.

Democratic Congress.

At this time, when the Republican party, after a generation of unlimited power in its control of the federal government, is rent into factions, it is opportune to point to the record of accomplishment of the Democratic House of Representatives in the Sixty-second Congress. We endorse its action and we challenge comparison of its record with that of any Congress which has been controlled by our opponents. We call the attention of the patriotic citizens of our country to its record of efficiency, economy and constructive legislation.

It has, among other achievements, revised the rules of the House of Representatives so as to give to the representative of the American people freedom of speech and of action in advocating, proposing and perfecting remedial legislation.

It has passed bills for the relief of the people and the development of our country; it has endeavored to revise the tariff taxes downward in the interest of the consuming masses and thus to reduce the high cost of living.

It has proposed an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people.

It has secured the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as two sovereign states.

It has required the publicity of campaign expenses both before and after election and fixed a limit upon the election expenses of United States senators and representatives.

It has passed a bill to prevent the abuse of the writ of injunction.

It has passed a law establishing an eight-hour day for workmen on all national public work.

It has passed a resolution which forced the President to take immediate steps to abrogate the Russian treaty.

And it has passed the great supply bills which lessen waste and extravagance and which reduce the annual expenses of the government by many millions of dollars.

We approve the measure reported by the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives for the location of a council of national defense, which will determine a definite naval program with a view to increasing efficiency and economy.

The party that proclaimed and has always enforced the Monroe Doctrine, and was a sponsor for the new navy, will continue faithfully to observe the constitutional requirements to provide and maintain an adequate and well-proportioned navy, sufficient to defend American policies, protect our citizens and uphold the honor and dignity of the nation.

Republican Extravagance.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriation of recent Republican congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government and a reduction in the number of

useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

Railroads, Express Companies, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

We favor the efficient supervision and rate regulation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines engaged in interstate commerce. To this end we recommend the valuation of railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines by the interstate commerce commission, such valuation to take into consideration the physical value of the property, the original cost, the cost of reproduction, and any element of value that will render the valuation fair and just.

We favor such legislation as will effectually protect the railroads, express, telegraph and telephone companies from engaging in business which brings them into competition with their shippers or patrons; also legislation preventing the over-issue of stocks and bonds by interstate railroads, express companies, telegraph and telephone lines and legislation which will assure such reduction in transportation rates as conditions will permit, care being taken to avoid reduction that would compel a reduction of wages, prevent adequate service, or do injustice to legitimate investments.

Banking Legislation.

We oppose the so-called Aldrich bill or the establishment of a central bank; and we believe our country will be largely freed from panics and consequent unemployment and business depression by such a systematic revision of our banking laws as will render temporary relief in localities where such relief is needed, with protection from control or domination by what is known as the money trust.

Banks exist for the accommodation of the public and not for the control of business. All legislation on the subject of banking and currency should have for its purpose the securing of these accommodations on terms of absolute security to the public and of complete protection from the misuse of the power that wealth gives to those who possess it.

We condemn the present methods of depositing government funds in a few favored banks, largely situated in or controlled by Wall street, in return for political favors, and we pledge our party to provide by law for their deposit by competitive bidding in the banking institutions of the country, national and state, without discrimination as to locality, upon approved securities and subject to call by the government.

Rural Credits.

Of equal importance with the question of currency reform is the question of rural credits or agricultural finance. Therefore we recommend that an investigation of agricultural credit societies in foreign countries be made, so that it may be ascertained whether a system of rural credits may be devised suitable to conditions in the United States; and we also favor legislation permitting national banks to loan a reasonable proportion of their funds on real estate security.

We recognize the value of vocational education and urge federal appropriations for such training and extension teaching in agriculture in co-operation with the several states.

Waterways.

We renew the declaration in our last platform relating to the conservation of our natural resources and the development of our waterways.

The present devastation of the lower Mississippi valley accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by

additional bank and levee protection below and the diversion, stage and control of the flood water above and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of swamp lands and the development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

We hold that the control of the Mississippi river is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its water for the purpose of navigation, the building of levees to maintain the integrity of its channel, and the prevention of the overflow of the land and its consequent devastation, resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the general government.

To maintain an adequate depth of water the entire year and thereby encourage water transportation is a consummation worthy of legislative attention and presents an issue national in its character. It calls for prompt action on the part of Congress, and the Democratic party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation leading to that end.

We favor the co-operation of the United States with the respective states in plans for the comprehensive treatment of all waterways with a view of co-ordinating plans for channel improvement with plans for drainage of swamp and overflowed lands, and to this end we favor the appropriation by the federal government of sufficient funds to make surveys of such lands, to develop for drainage the same and to supervise the work of construction.

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development of our inland waterways, with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

Post Roads.

We favor national aid to state and local authorities in the construction and maintenance of post roads.

Courts.

We repeat our declaration of the platform of 1908, as follows:

"The courts of justice are the bulwark of our liberties and we yield to none in our purpose to maintain their dignity. Our party has given to the bench a long line of distinguished justices who have added to the respect and confidence in which this department must be zealously maintained. We resent the attempt of the Republican party to raise a false issue respecting the judiciary. It is an unjust reflection upon a great body of our citizens to assume that they lack respect for the courts.

"It is the function of the courts to interpret the laws which the people enact, and if the laws appear to work economic, social or political injustice, it is our duty to change them. The only basis upon which the integrity of our courts can be maintained is that of unswerving justice and protection of life, person and property. As judicial processes may be abused, we should guard them against abuse.

"Experience has proven the necessity of a modification of the present law relating to injunction, and we reiterate the pledges of our platforms of 1896 and 1904 in favor of a measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, relating to contempt in federal courts and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

"Questions of judicial practice have arisen, especially in connection with industrial disputes. We believe that the parties to all judicial proceedings should be treated with rigid impartiality

and that injunctions should not be issued in any case in which an injunction would not be issued if no industrial dispute were involved.

Rights of Labor.

"The expanding organization of industry makes it essential that there should be no abridgment of the right of the wage earners and producers to organize for the protection of wages and the improvement of labor conditions, to the end that such labor organizations and their members should not be regarded as illegal combinations in restraint of trade.

"We pledge the Democratic party to the enactment of a law creating a department of labor represented separately in the president's cabinet, in which department shall be included the subject of mines and mining.

"We pledge the Democratic party, so far as the federal jurisdiction extends, to an employes' compensation law providing adequate indemnity for injury to body or loss of life."

Conservation.

We believe in the conservation and the development, for the use of all the people, of the natural resources of the country. Our forests, our sources of water supply, our arable and our mineral lands, our navigable streams and all our other material resources, with which our country has been so lavishly endowed, constitute the foundation of our national wealth. Such additional legislation as may be necessary to prevent their being wasted or absorbed by special or privileged interests should be enacted and the policy of their conservation should be rigidly adhered to.

The public domain should be administered and disposed of with due regard to the general welfare. Reservations should be limited to the purposes which they purport to serve and not extended to include land wholly unsuited therefor. The unnecessary withdrawal from sale and settlement of enormous tracts of public land upon which tree growth never existed and can not be promoted tends only to retard development, create discontent and bring reproach upon the policy of conservation.

The public land laws should be administered in a spirit of the broadest liberality towards the settler exhibiting a bona fide purpose to comply therewith, to the end that the invitation of this government to the landless should be as attractive as possible; and the plain provisions of the forest reserve act permitting homestead entries to be made within the national forests should not be nullified by administrative regulations which amount to a withdrawal of great areas of the same from settlement.

Immediate action should be taken by Congress to make available the vast and valuable coal deposits of Alaska, under conditions that will be a perfect guaranty against their falling into the hands of monopolizing corporations, associations or interests.

We rejoice in the inheritance of mineral resources unequalled in extent, variety or value, and in the development of a mining industry unequalled in its magnitude and importance. We honor the men who, in their hazardous toil under ground, daily risk their lives in extracting and preparing for our use the products of the mine, so essential to the industries, the commerce and the comfort of the people of this country. And we pledge ourselves to the extension of the work of the bureau of mines in every way appropriate for national legislation with a view of safeguarding the lives of the miners, lessening the waste of essential resources, and promoting the economic development of mining, which, along with agriculture, must in the future,

even more than in the past, serve as the very foundation of our national prosperity and welfare and our international commerce.

Agriculture.

We believe in encouraging the development of a modern system of agriculture and a systematic effort to improve the conditions of trade in farm products so as to benefit both the consumers and producers. And as an efficient means to this end we favor the enactment by Congress of legislation that will suppress the pernicious practice of gambling in agricultural products by organized exchanges or others.

Merchant Marine.

We believe in fostering, by constitutional regulation of commerce, the growth of a merchant marine, which shall develop and strengthen the commercial ties which bind us to our sister republics of the south, but without imposing additional burdens upon the people and without bounties or subsidies from the public treasury.

We urge upon Congress the speedy enactment of laws for the greater security of life and property at sea and we favor the repeal of all laws, and the abrogation of so much of our treaties with other nations as provide for the arrest and imprisonment of seamen charged with desertion, or with violation of their contract of service. Such laws and treaties are un-American and violate the spirit, if not the letter, of the constitution of the United States.

We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal.

We also favor legislation forbidding the use of the Panama Canal by ships owned or controlled by railroad carriers engaged in transportation competitive with the canal.

Pure Food Law and Public Health.

We reaffirm our previous declarations advocating the union and strengthening of the various governmental agencies relating to pure foods, quarantine, vital statistics and human health. Thus united, and administered without partiality to or discrimination against any school of medicine or system of healing, they would constitute a single health service, not subordinated to any commercial or financial interests but devoted exclusively to the conservation of human life and efficiency. Moreover, this health service should co-operate with the health agencies of our various states and cities, without interference with their prerogatives or with the freedom of individuals to employ such medical or hygienic aid as they may see fit.

Civil Service Law.

The law pertaining to the civil service should be honestly and rigidly enforced, to the end that merit and ability shall be the standard of appointment and promotion, rather than service rendered to a political party; and we favor a reorganization of the civil service with adequate compensation commensurate with the class of work performed for all officers and employes; we also favor the extension to all classes of civil service employes of the benefits of the provisions of the employers' liability law; we also recognize the right of direct petition to Congress by employes for the redress of grievances.

Law Reform.

We recognize the urgent need of reform in the administration of civil and criminal law in the United States, and we recommend the enactment of such legislation and the promotion of such measures as will rid the present legal system of the

delays, expense and uncertainties incident to the system as now administered.

The Philippines.

We reaffirm the position thrice announced by the Democracy in national convention assembled against a policy of imperialism and colonial exploitation in the Philippines or elsewhere. We condemn the experiment in imperialism as an inexcusable blunder which has involved us in enormous expense, brought us weakness instead of strength, and laid our nation open to the charge of abandonment of the fundamental doctrine of self-government. We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines, our government would retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases.

Arizona and New Mexico.

We welcome Arizona and New Mexico to the sisterhood of states and heartily congratulate them upon their auspicious beginning of great and glorious careers.

Alaska.

We demand for the people of Alaska the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of a territorial form of government, and we believe that the officials appointed to administer the government of all our territories and the District of Columbia should be qualified by previous bona fide residence.

The Russian Treaty.

We commend the patriotism of the Democratic members of the Senate and House of Representatives which compelled the termination of the Russian treaty of 1832, and we pledge ourselves anew to preserve the sacred rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our government which does not recognize that equality of all our citizens, irrespective of race or creed, which does not expressly guarantee the fundamental right of expatriation.

The constitutional rights of American citizens should protect them on our borders and go with them throughout the world, and every American citizen residing or having property in any foreign country is entitled to and must be given the full protection of the United States government, both for himself and his property.

Parcels Post and Rural Delivery.

We favor the establishment of a parcels post or postal express, and also the extension of the rural delivery system as rapidly as practicable.

Panama Canal Exposition.

We hereby express our deep interest in the great Panama Canal exposition to be held in San Francisco in 1915 and favor such encouragement as can be properly given.

Protection of National Uniform.

We commend to the several states the adoption of a law making it an offense for the proprietors of places of public amusement and entertainment to discriminate against the uni-

form of the United States, similar to the law passed by Congress applicable to the District of Columbia and the territories in 1911.

Pensions.

We renew the declaration of our last platform relating to a generous pension policy.

Rule of the People.

We call attention to the fact that the Democratic party's demand for a return to the rule of the people expressed in the national platform four years ago has now become the accepted doctrine of a large majority of the electors. We again remind the country that only by a larger exercise of the reserved power of the people can they protect themselves from the misuse of delegated power and the usurpation of governmental instrumentalities by special interests. For this reason, the national convention insisted on the overthrow of Cannonism and the inauguration of a system by which United States Senators could be elected by direct vote. The Democratic party offers itself to the country as an agency through which the complete overthrow and extirpation of corruption, fraud and machine rule in American politics can be effected.

Conclusion.

Our platform is one of principles which we believe to be essential to our national welfare. Our pledges are made to be kept when in office as well as relied upon during the campaign and we invite the co-operation of all citizens, regardless of party, who believe in maintaining unimpaired the institutions and traditions of our country.

Schedule.

Following is a schedule of the various subjects, and their arrangement: Introductory, tariff reform, high cost of living, anti-trust law, rights of states, income tax and popular election of senators, presidential primaries, campaign contributions, law reform, the Philippines, Arizona and New Mexico, Alaska, Russian treaty, parcels post and rural delivery, San Francisco exposition, protection of uniform, pensions, rule of people, term of president, Democratic Congress, Republican extravagance, railroads, express, telegraph and telephone lines, banking legislation, rural credits, waterways, post roads, rights of labor, conservation, agriculture, merchant marine, pure food law, civil service law.

(b) BRIEF HISTORY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

(Taken from "Business," by Charles Edward Russell.)

If the early history of the Republican party was glorious, what shall we say of the early history of the Democratic party?

The Republican party saved the republic; the Democratic party made it.

Who ponders now the grimy fact that Alexander Hamilton's pet and insistent project was to have a king in the country? Yet so stands the record as plain as day. Or who reflects that, when, because of the steady fighting of Thomas Jefferson and his friends, Hamilton and his assistants failed to secure a monarchy in name, they bent all their energies to establish one in fact? Yet this, too, is writ large in our story; and out of the conflict between the autocratic creed of Hamilton and the Republican faith of Jefferson sprang up the Federalist party on one side and the Democratic party on the other.

Both the evil and the good that men do live after them. We

have in our system of government little enough of true democracy, little enough opportunity for the exercise of the people's will. What little we have we owe chiefly to Jefferson and his fellow Democrats; what checks and obstructions and anarchism in our system survive to clog and curse us we owe to Hamilton and his fellow Federalists triumphing over Jefferson's clear vision and unawed mind.

Upon the rock of this creed the Democratic party was formed—the broad faith in man, the broadest sympathy with man's cause. Jefferson was the first advocate of a genuine and practical democracy, the first actual champion of popular government, the first man that, clearly recognizing the caste feeling as selfishness and ignorant vanity, banished it from his heart and knew that for the guidance of the state there was no wisdom but the collective wisdom of the community. . . . It was by the narrowest margin that the party of Thomas Jefferson's founding (called then the Democratic-Republican party) won its first electoral victory in 1800, and turned out the Federalist, John Adams. In the one hundred and ten years that have followed there have been twenty-seven Presidential elections, of which the Democratic party has won thirteen. No other party in the political history of the world has lasted so long or triumphed so often. Up to and including the year 1856 of the fifteen elections since its founding the Democratic party has won all but three.

For the next twelve years after 1824, having first Jackson and then Van Buren in the Presidency and a plurality in Congress, the Democratic party ruled the country with unquestioned sway.

Slave Owning Interests Enter.

But meantime very great changes, some of them subtly made, swept over our political system. The introduction of the cotton gin and of steam machinery, having made cotton the greatest of our products, enormously developed slave-owning, slave-labor and slave-made wealth. Wealth, as always, spelled Power, and Power, as always, sought Government, that it might make more wealth. Slave-owning was quickly erected into a great, dominant, menacing Interest, able to influence elections and to make or mar careers, and before that Interest the Democratic party bowed itself for the sake of success. It had gone, indeed, the inevitable path.

At first, as always happens in these cases, all went exceedingly well. The earliest explicit surrender to the Interests was contained in the party platform of 1840, adopted at Baltimore, in which one plank opposed interference with states' rights, and another condemned the efforts of Abolitionists to secure national legislation curbing the slave power. "Interference with states' rights" meant the appearance of some hesitation on the part of Northern courts and Northern officers to return slaves captured in flight; and on this point also the declaration was dictated by the slave owners. . . .

Slave Owners in Full Control.

After this notable victory (1844) the Interests rioted in the absolute possession of the Democratic party (which controlled the government), and each succeeding year saw their increasing arrogance, until no politician, North or South, dared to oppose them. Into the next Democratic platform they wrote some resounding platitudes of good government, but the sense of the instrument was a defiance of any attempt to coerce the slave-power. . . .

And the interests, heeding no sign, walked their own road whither that led. They dealt out political ruin to any man that

opposed them; they mobbed and murdered, they shot and bludgeoned, they scorned and mocked, they clung to their privileges in spite of every warning and at last they hanged John Brown.

And then the manhood of the North awoke and down went slavery and with it the party of Jefferson—that had bartered away the ark of the Jeffersonian Covenant.

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After the Civil War.

Chiefly to Mr. Tilden fell the monumental task of bringing the party from so far afield back to the original faith. . . . Mr. Tilden prepared for the Democratic National Convention of 1876 a declaration of principles that might have emanated from Jefferson himself. With the broad doctrine of faith in popular government was combined an attack on the waxing Tariff Privilege; and the result was Mr. Tilden's triumphant success at the polls. He was defrauded of his victory by a villainy so gross and a crime against the republic so huge that it broke Mr. Tilden's spirit and shortened his life.

Thereupon folly, led by Tammany Hall, which hated Tilden and all his kind, returned to its throne upon the Democratic mind.

Democratic Party for Protective Tariff.

In congressional elections of 1882 the Democrats overwhelmingly swept the country. All signs pointing to the imminent danger of Democratic success in the Presidential campaign of 1884, the manufacturing interests early turned their attention to the Democrats, captured certain leaders, wrote the platform to suit themselves, made for it a tariff plank that (reversing the uniform party policy) declared for protection, and having secured themselves against any contingency, let the election take care of itself; and the Democrats won (electing Grover Cleveland).

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I do not know that anybody ever understood Grover Cleveland; it is charitable to believe that he did not understand himself. Certainly he must have known that the newly arisen and most dangerous Interests, the Morgan and Sugar Trust and great Banking Interests, were actively battling for him in the campaign. Yet, having been elected on the most emphatic promises of tariff reform, his first act as President was to ignore the tariff issue and summon a special session of Congress to tinker the currency according to will of the Interests that had supported him, although the currency had not been at any time an issue in the campaign. . . . His inaugural address resounded with eloquence in favor of the people and popular government. Yet very early he betrayed the people into the hands of their enemy by issuing the bonds demanded by a banking syndicate composed of his supporters. I think, in fact, his was the club that inflicted upon the Democratic party the incurable hurt.

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At this undeniable proof of a monstrous fraud the country was filled with measureless disgust. Few were so blind as not to recognize the signs of a familiar handiwork. The Interests had controlled a Democratic administration as absolutely as they had ever controlled a Republican administration. A hasty and futile attempt was made to muzzle the next Democratic National Convention. The outraged public feeling was too strong to be checked. With tremendous enthusiasm the convention adopted a program utterly and radically hostile to the

banking interests and nominated the candidate that seemed most forcibly to express their hostility.

Bryan's Vacillating Course.

Mr. Bryan, unfairly, dishonestly and fraudulently beaten in 1896, proceeded to beat himself and his party in 1900. He had in 1896 a great fundamental issue based upon the eternal cause of man. He cast it aside for a half-hearted and badly managed attack upon the Philippine monstrosity. Immediately afterward he cast that aside for other issues in rapid succession until thinking men are compelled to doubt his sincerity in any position he seemed for the moment to occupy.

But it made no difference. The downfall of the party, impending since Mr. Cleveland's time, was completed in 1904; thereafter whatever batteries might be applied to its feet, or whatever eager hands might institute artificial respiration, the image did but coldly simulate vitality. The Interests had done their fatal work. They desired to have Judge Parker nominated in 1904; they went out accordingly, and arranged his nomination. The thing was too palpable; he that failed to see so open a transaction was too dull to be at large without an attendant. . . .

Plutocracy in Full Control.

There sat in that convention (1904) as delegates and as the alert champions and managers in behalf of the Interests men that were perfectly well known to be the regularly salaried agents and lackeys of the Standard Oil Company, the Sugar Trust, the electric light and traction rings, and almost every great predatory combination of the United States. Practically every leading railroad company had representatives selected from its staff of hired attorneys, lobbyists, bribers, procurers, and legislative harlots. . . .

The situation (1908) was very plain; the great corporations had seized the government, controlled legislation, violated the laws, nullified prosecution, largely controlled the press, and there was too much reason to think had at least begun to corrupt the courts. To this acute crisis, not less serious than the situation once created by negro slavery, Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party proposed in copy-book axioms to apply some vague remedy of good-will or honest purpose. Four years earlier this same Democratic party had been notoriously the tool of these public enemies, and Mr. Bryan had then supported it. Such credulity as would believe that in four years he and it had undergone any miraculous conversion would accept Mother Goose for scientific research. . . .

Not being fools, the American people saw through all this. They were presented with the choice between two parties, each held absolutely by the corporation Interests. Without enthusiasm, but with eminent good sense, they chose the party that was the most presentable and emitted the least odor. When it comes to choosing between the Cannons and Aldriches on one side and on the other the men that make a loud and unsubstantial pretense of serving the popular cause, the people will always be likely to choose the Cannons and the Aldriches.

The Republican party renewed its lease upon the government functions and the Interests were for the time being secure. In their hour of triumph they outstepped discretion, made up a cabinet of their representatives, seized the water powers of public domain, dictated the tariff bill, openly planned to grab Alaska and advertised to the world that they were supreme. Therefore in the Congressional election of 1910 the people wearily and perfunctorily turned out a Republican major-

ity of the House and, seeing nothing else to do, turned in a Democratic.

That they will continue to turn from one to the other of two parties each equally owned by the Interests is inconceivable. Let us suppose the election of 1910 to foreshadow a Democratic victory in 1912. Within fourteen months thereafter the real ownership of the Democratic party will be plainly revealed to be these same Interests upon which the people have declared war. Is it not clear, then, that we shall see at that time in politics some convulsions the like of which have not been witnessed for more than a generation?

(c) COMMENTS ON THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD.

(From "The Democratic Party," by Ralph Korngold.)

The Democratic party has announced that it is the party of the Common People.

Let us examine this party of the Common People.

A tree, we are told, is known by its fruits. We shall examine the fruit that we may know the tree.

The Democratic party, for more than one hundred years, with the exception of the few years of the Reconstruction Period, has been in complete control of what is known as the Solid South.

Some time ago the governor of one of the southern states boasted that his state was "Democratic from stem to stern, from governor to constable." The same might be said of nearly all of the southern states.

It is doubtful whether there has ever been a political party anywhere which has had such an opportunity to show what it could do and was willing to do for the Common People.

What are the fruits of the Democratic regime in the Solid South?

Child Labor.

Nowhere else in the United States are children of such tender years ground into profits for the capitalist class as in the Solid South. It is not uncommon to see children six and seven years old trudging to the cotton mill at half past four in the morning, to remain at work twelve hours and even longer, for the pitiful wage of from ten to twenty cents a day.

There are nearly one hundred thousand child slaves, both black and white, in the Solid South, and the Democratic party has done nothing or practically nothing to protect them. Child labor legislation is almost unknown in the southern states, and unscrupulous Northern manufacturers are moving their mills into the South because under the Democratic regime they are able to employ children without any interference from the child labor inspector.

Peonage.

Peonage, the enforced detention of workingmen, flourishes in the southern states. The records of the Department of Justice show that peonage is not only connived at, but is actually aided by the Democratic administrations in the interests of the turpentine and lumber companies.

Vagrancy Laws.

If a workingman is out of a job in the Solid South, the Democratic administration will furnish him employment. They will arrest him under the vagrancy law, put a ball and chain on his feet and set him to work on the public roads. If he does not

work hard enough he will get thirty-nine lashes across his bare back.

Sometimes the workingman is fined and delivered into the land. The condition of these renters is inferior to that of contractor paying the county for the man's services. During hands of a contractor or capitalist to work out his fine, the the entire period of his enforced labor the prisoner is under strict surveillance and may be shot by the contractor if he attempts to escape.

It is well known that in many instances the Democratic county administrations are in league with the contractors whom they supply with cheap labor in this manner.

Unjust Election Laws.

By means of the poll tax, "the grandfather clause," and other schemes, the Democratic party of the South has disfranchised nearly all of the negro workingmen and many of the white workingmen.

Landlordism.

Under the perpetual rule of the Democratic party in the South and Southwest the public domain has been wasted and a landlordism has grown up such as can be found nowhere else in the United States. In some sections of the South and Southwest it is very unusual to find a farmer who owns his own the most poorly paid workingman in the North.

Usury.

The banking laws in many of the southern states are so constructed as to make it possible for the banker to charge from 25 to 150 per cent. on short-time loans. This is especially true of the state of Oklahoma, which boasts of being one of the most "progressive" of the block of southern states.

Antagonism to Labor Unions.

When some time ago the miners went out on a strike in the state of Alabama and were evicted from the company houses, the United Mine Workers sent tents to these unfortunate people so that they, their wives and their children might be sheltered from the rainy weather. The governor of the state of Alabama ordered the soldiers to burn down the tents if the miners attempted to put them up.

By skillfully balancing the white man against the negro and fostering race hatred, the Democratic politicians have been able to prevent the formation of active and strong labor unions in the South. As a result of this the wages for all kinds of labor are lower in the South than they are in the northern states.

The Democratic Party in the North.

In the North the Democratic party has been the party of the public service corporations. It has maintained itself in power in cities like Chicago, New York, St. Louis, and other large centers of population, by an open alliance with the red light district and the slum.

The names of Roger Sullivan, who holds the Democratic party of Illinois in the hollow of his hand, Tom Taggart, who controls the Democracy of Indiana, and Charles Murphy, who performs the same function in New York, have become by-words for all that is crooked and corrupt in American politics.

(d) DEMOCRATS DISFRANCHISE WORKINGMEN.

Article XIV. The right of any resident of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex, race, color, lack of property

or failure to pay taxes of any kind.—Constitution of the United States.

To what extent workingmen, both black and white, are disfranchised in the southern states can be seen by the following:

In some states not even one-third of the native white males of voting age cast their ballots. Take South Carolina, for instance. There are 335,046 males of voting age in that state. Negroes form 169,155 of this number. They can at once be eliminated, since they are not permitted even to look cross-eyed at a ballot box. But there are 162,414 native white males and 3,355 foreign-born males of voting age in that state. How many of these do you suppose share in the "white man's government"? Two-thirds, perhaps? No. One-half, then? No. Surely one-third, though? Not even that. The recent vote for Presidential electors was 50,348, just 31 per cent. of the total of native white males, and less than 30 per cent. of all white males.

The proportion is considerably better than that in some other of the southern states. In Mississippi, however, it is about the same. There the vote is 34.44 per cent. of the native white males. In Georgia it is 35.19 per cent., and in Louisiana it is 37.21 per cent. In Texas it climbs to 41.49 per cent.

The number of foreign-born is in most southern states too small a factor to have much effect on the percentage of voters to men of voting age. Let us take, then, for comparison, a northern state in which the number of foreign-born is proportionately small. Indiana is such a state. There are 712,504 native white males, 88,927 foreign-born males, and 20,651 negro males, all of voting age. The recent vote in Indiana was 654,447, or 91.85 per cent. of the number of native white males. Assuming that three-fourths of the negroes had the proper residence qualifications, and that one-half of the foreigners were naturalized and also were qualified by residence, the proportion of voters to persons ordinarily qualified to vote would be 84.72 per cent.

In Ohio the figures are somewhat similar, though a larger foreign population reduces the percentage. The comparison shows that throughout the southern states there must be some powerful agencies at work to keep not only negroes, but poor white men, from the polls. Indifference counts for something, no doubt; but mere indifference cannot count for the disfranchisement of from 50 to 70 per cent. of the white voters.

The apostles of southern "democracy" don't want the poor white man to vote. So they surround the ballot box with certain "safeguards." Prime among these safeguards is the **poll tax**.

LOUISIANA—Poll tax must be paid to date by December 31 of each year for two years preceding the year in which the citizen offers to vote. So that if he wanted to vote for President in 1912, he would have had to make up his mind to that effect in December, 1910, to have then paid his poll tax, and again have paid the tax before December 31, 1911. He must also have resided in the state for two years.

TEXAS—Unless he belongs to the exempt class, he must have paid his poll tax (high one, too) in the spring preceding the election.

MISSISSIPPI—He must have paid his tax and must also have lived in the State two years and (unless he happens to be a clergyman) in the precinct one year.

GEORGIA—He must have paid all his taxes since 1877.

SOUTH CAROLINA—He must have resided two years, paid his poll tax six months before election, and all taxes of the previous year on property assessed at \$300 or more.

VIRGINIA—The would-be voter must have paid his tax for the preceding three years at least six months before election.

Other southern states having a poll tax law, are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi and Tennessee.

The following southern states have disfranchised the negro:

Mississippi in 1890.

Louisiana in 1898.

Alabama in 1901.

South Carolina in 1895.

North Carolina in 1900.

Georgia in 1908.

Oklahoma in 1910.

(e) THE DEMOCRATS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

(From The Chicago Tribune, Feb. 5, 1914.)

Washington, D. C., Feb. 4.—(Special.)—Any lingering hope of the suffragists that this congress would submit to the states the proposed constitutional amendment enfranchising women was dashed today.

Majority Leader Underwood, replying to an interpellation in the house, admitted he and his fellow Democratic leaders would not permit consideration of the amendment on the ground that suffrage is a state, not a national question.

The suffragists now regard the Democratic party as squarely opposed to their plea for national legislation.

The suffragists, however, will continue their efforts to obtain favorable action on the amendment in the senate, where it is scheduled for early consideration.

Word went out from woman suffrage national headquarters here today to the women voters of ten western states to concentrate their efforts on the campaign for the passage of the federal amendment. It was the answer of the leaders to Underwood and other leaders.

"On the day that 200,000 women registered in Illinois," the women leaders declared, "123 Democrats of the House sent word to the 4,000,000 women voters in the United States that their cause was of less national moment than the disposal of waste paper in Washington."

Democratic Vote Against Woman Suffrage in Illinois.

The Democrats tried their best to defeat woman suffrage in Illinois, but failed. The vote of the Democrats in the 48th General Assembly, on the Woman Suffrage bill, was as follows:

For suffrage. Against Suffrage. Not voting.

| | | | |
|--------------|----|----|---|
| Senate | 10 | 11 | 3 |
| House | 24 | 44 | 5 |

The Socialists had no members in the Senate and three members in the lower house, all of these voted in favor of woman suffrage.

The Black Belt.

(Editorial in The Chicago Tribune, March 20, 1914.)

A map of the United States, showing the suffrage states in white, the no-suffrage states in black, and the partial suffrage states with dotted or shaded lines, reveals the southeast seaboard and its hinterland in solid black.

This is the "solid south." It was the land of slavery. It is the land where women have no vote upon any question or candidate. It is the land of chivalry. It is the land of child labor.

On the suffrage map it is our darkest America. Missionaries are needed to work in the South. (And, we might add, it is the **Democratic South**.)

(f) THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

In Spite of the Democrats the Cost of Living Goes Up.

(From Bulletin No. 136, page 11, of the United States Department of Labor.)

Considering prices in the United States as a whole, the simple average of the relative prices of 15 principal articles of food shows the following:

Jan. 15, 1913, compared with Jan. 15, 1912..3.8 per cent advance.
 Feb. 15, 1913, compared with Feb. 15, 1912..3.8 per cent advance.
 Mar. 15, 1913, compared with Mar. 15, 1912..6.0 per cent advance.
 Apr. 15, 1913, compared with Apr. 15, 1912..3.9 per cent advance.
 May 15, 1913, compared with May 15, 1912..2.0 per cent advance.
 June 15, 1913, compared with June 15, 1912..3.9 per cent advance.
 July 15, 1913, compared with July 15, 1912..8.2 per cent advance.
 Aug. 15, 1913, compared with Aug. 15, 1912..8.6 per cent advance.

When the relative prices are weighted according to the average consumption of the various articles of food in workingmen's families the changes in prices within a year were as follows:

Jan. 15, 1913, compared with Jan. 15, 1912..2.9 per cent advance.
 Feb. 15, 1913, compared with Feb. 15, 1912..3.2 per cent advance.
 Mar. 15, 1913, compared with Mar. 15, 1912..6.2 per cent advance.
 Apr. 15, 1913, compared with Apr. 15, 1912..4.1 per cent advance.
 May 15, 1913, compared with May 15, 1912..1.7 per cent advance.
 June 15, 1913, compared with June 15, 1912..3.3 per cent advance.
 July 15, 1913, compared with July 15, 1912..7.8 per cent advance.
 Aug. 15, 1913, compared with Aug. 15, 1912..8.0 per cent advance.

An Interview With Underwood.

(Allan L. Benson in Pearson's Magazine, January, 1914.)

I first told Mr. Underwood that I understood that his new tariff law was to bring about a great reduction in the cost of living. I had understood no such thing from any responsible person, but I simply thought I would throw out the line and see how far he would go with it. He did not go far. As compared with the old "Empty Market Basket" brigade he hardly moved. He said the new law would reduce the cost of living "a good deal." I asked him what he meant by a good deal. He did not care to say. I did care to have him say. I pressed him to be more nearly definite. He said he could not be more nearly definite—that he could not speak in terms of money because one family might save one sum and another family a different sum, depending upon their respective manners of living. I sought to sweep away this defense by asking him to estimate in dollars the amount that would be saved annually by the average American wage-worker's family, whose income is about \$500 a year.

Mr. Underwood would not answer. He would like to answer me—he assured me so. But he could not even approximately answer such a question unless he were to make a careful calculation covering the amounts of food and the kinds of food, the amounts of clothing and the kinds of clothing that are consumed by average American families, and then figuring up the saving on the basis of the new law in comparison with the old. I told him that I did not seek exact figures, which nobody could give after any amount of calculation, but approximate figures. I sought to help him along by asking what would be the annual saving on \$375 a year spent for food and clothing, that being about the sum that \$500 a year families have after paying their house rent. Still he sat in his chair and gave me the wise statesman look combined with silence.

Then I tried him with a different hook. I asked him if he believed an annual saving of \$25 would seem "a good deal" to a family in receipt of \$500 a year. He said he did. I then asked him if, in asserting that the new tariff would reduce the cost of living "a good deal," it would be just to understand him as meaning a saving of approximately \$25 a year. But he said he did not want to be quoted at all in terms of money. I should have been glad to carry the grand news that, having won a great victory at the polls in 1912, each poor American family might expect to have the cost of living reduced almost 50 cents a week, but I could get no Underwood authority for it.

So I passed on to other phases of the same subject. I asked him upon what articles this possible saving of 50 cents a week might be expected. I shall never forget his answer. He said: "The cost of vegetables along the Canadian frontier will be considerably reduced."

Now anybody who knows anything about the Canadian frontier

and the sparse Canadian population that fringes the edge of Canada, knows exactly what this promise holds forth. Anybody who knows anything about the export vegetable product of Canada knows that free importation of Canadian garden truck would have about the same effect upon the prices of similar products in the United States that a squirt gun full of water would have upon the temperature of hell.

In parliamentary phrase I called Mr. Underwood's attention to this fact which, in substance he readily admitted. He conceded my contention that Canadian products could not penetrate more than twenty or thirty miles into the interior, as he also admitted that the quantity would be insufficient to supply more than a few families close to the border.

"But," said Mr. Underwood, "we may get some potatoes from Ireland. We have long imported Bermuda onions into this country, and I should not wonder if we should get quite a lot of stuff from Bermuda and, as I said, from Ireland."

Don't laugh—go on. Hear what the gentleman said.

"The cheaper grades of cotton will be reduced a third, the cost of woolen goods, including men's clothing, will be substantially reduced, and I expect the price of sugar to be reduced almost if not quite one-half. But sugar will not reach the bottom price for three years, and the reductions in cotton and woolen goods will hardly be felt before next summer."

"Mr. Underwood," said I, "I believe the Democratic party has made an honest reduction of the tariff. As a result, the cost of living may or may not be materially reduced, depending upon whether the trusts, jobbers, retailers and other gentlemen are able to absorb the reductions or whether they are compelled to pass them along to the people. But, assuming that the reductions will be passed along and that the cost of living will be materially reduced, can you show me wherein the people will be helped?"

Mr. Underwood looked up from his clasped hands in astonishment.

"Isn't the high cost of living what the people are crying out against?" he asked. "Will not they be benefited if the cost of living be reduced?"

I admitted the obvious fact that the people were opposed to high living costs and in favor of lower ones. I also asserted that people did not know what caused their misery and therefore did not know what would cure it. I offered in proof the peculiar political fate that has followed Mr. Bryan. In 1896, the cost of living was so low that Mr. Bryan urged the people to turn the country over to him in order that, with free silver, he might increase the cost of all commodities, including labor. The people declined, but the trusts and other agencies removed the low prices of which Mr. Bryan complained. They removed them so completely that no vestige of them was left. They removed low prices so completely that Mr. Bryan and his party, having formerly sought power to increase prices, sought power in 1912 to lower them. In other words, Mr. Bryan, in campaigning for Wilson in 1912, asked that his party be given power to destroy the high prices that in 1896 he said were desirable. And the irony of fate gave Mr. Bryan his greatest political office for the part he took in 1912 in trying to restore the low prices against which he protested so bitterly in 1896.

"Suppose your new law," said I to Mr. Underwood, "were to make the cost of living as low as it was in 1896. The people were desperate in 1896. Does your law contain anything that would make them happier now?"

We had come somewhere near the nub of the question. The people are never prosperous whether the cost of living is high or low. As a mass, their wages are just enough to cover the cost of living and no more. Mr. Underwood, as a man of affairs, may be presumed to know these facts. Apparently, he did know them, because he ran from them like a deer.

"I have no time to go into this matter," he said. "I am very busy now. Here are copies of two speeches that I made on the tariff question. They set forth my views in full. You may have them, if you like."

"Do these speeches answer my question?" I asked as I reached for the copies of the Congressional Record that he handed to me.

"No," he replied.

"Well, don't you care to answer it?" I asked. "It would seem to be worth answering. Low prices made only misery in 1896. If your law contains something that will make low prices mean misery now, it will take you but a moment to say what that something is. It will take even less time for you to say that that 'something' is in your law without describing it."

"I am very busy," repeated Mr. Underwood. "I could not go into that matter without more time."

The Democratic Tariff Bill Brings No Relief Whatsoever.

(From the Literary Digest, April 4, 1914.)

No one considers it quite fair to judge a tariff law before it really has had time to take full effect. But the official figures on imports during the first four months of the new law, and the recent acts and statements of leaders in certain important industries affected by the revision, have enabled some of our

editors to make up their minds about what the reduction is doing, and even to venture some predictions as to what it is likely to do. Speaking generally, and mindful of certain important exceptions, these observers find that, on the whole, the Underwood Tariff has so far accomplished little, either for good or ill. Its beginnings, declares the New York Sun (Ind.), "show loss of revenue, decreased importations of raw and partly manufactured materials in many great industries, stimulated and enlarged importations of finished manufactures." The increased importations of foodstuffs do not seem to have brought the consumer any appreciable reduction in the cost of living, nor are the big industries thought to be facing ruin as a result of foreign competition. To mention a few of the chief industries, we find the New York Journal of Commerce asserting that the steel business "had nothing to fear from the tariff changes and has not been perceptibly affected by them." The textile trades were noticeably hit, but seem to be generally prosperous and confident of keeping their grip on the domestic market and even of reaching out into foreign fields. The consumer and the farmer alike may find food for thought in the statements showing that the meat importations in the first quarter under the new tariff are almost infinitesimal compared with the national consumption for that period. Sugar producers and refiners are, indeed, complaining, partly because of the "tariff uncertainty." And it might be said that some protectionist papers warn their readers that despite the small apparent damage, the worst is sure to come. Imports did not leap as they were expected to, admits the New York Press. (Prog.), perhaps because we had no money to pay for them, but—"it will not be very long before the United States will be digging deep down into its jeans to pay its foreign bills of hundreds of millions of dollars a year!" The Kansas City Journal (Rep.) likewise warns its largely agricultural constituency that the country is about to be flooded "with imported foodstuffs and with imported manufactures, thereby reducing both the farmer's income and the consumer's ability to buy the products of the farm."

The official figures for importations for the first four months of the Underwood tariff—October, November, December, and January last—are thus quoted in the New York Sun's Washington correspondence:

"The total value of all manufacturers' materials imported in the four months under the new law was \$300,000,000, as against \$347,000,000 in the same months under the Payne law, a reduction of 13 per cent.; manufactures ready for consumption \$152,000,000, against \$143,000,000, an increase of about 6 per cent., and foodstuffs \$161,000,000, against \$142,000,000, an increase of 20 per cent."

The fact, which the Philadelphia Record vouches for, that we spent \$28,000,000 less for foreign goods during these four months under a Democratic tariff than we did under a Republican tariff in the preceding year, gives "no support to the notion that foreigners are dumping their products upon our shores in the hope of destroying our industries."

With a 20 per cent gain in importations of foodstuffs, and 33,500,000 pounds of meat said to have been brought here during the last quarter of 1913, the New Orleans Times-Democrat wonders why the addition to our domestic supply "fails to affect retail prices noticeably." The Wall Street Journal's answer is that our total imports amounted to "less than nine-tenths of one per cent" of the estimated total consumption for those three months. Secretary Houston, of the Department of Agriculture, points out that most of the beef coming from Argentina is consigned from our Beef Trust's plant in Argentina to itself. When we study the importations of all the principal foodstuffs, says

the New York Sun's Washington correspondent, we find that—

"While importation of most of the articles has increased, the amount compared with domestic production and total consumption has been so small that no effect upon prices is apparent.

"In fact, in a large number of the articles in question the prices are higher at the latest quotations than before the change in the tariff."

A scarcity of meat animals naturally means a scarcity of hides, and The Shoe and Leather Weekly (Chicago) reports that during the seven months ending January 31, five millions less pieces of cattle hides and calfskins were imported than during the same period a year ago. Which gives little hope for cheaper home-made shoes. Further, "the removal of the tariff on shoes and leather thus far has had little influence to increase the imports of foreign shoes and leather."

If predictions made by protectionist tariff debaters had come true, the woolen manufacturing industry in this country would, to use the New York World's phrase, "have been far down the road to extinction." But facts, as the World remarks, are things even more stubborn than "standpat prophecy." And now we find a number of editors glad to comment on the optimistic note of the American Woolen Company's annual report. President William M. Wood, the Indianapolis News (Ind.) remembers, once said that no change could be made in Schedule K of the Payne tariff without shaking American industry to its very foundations. But, as the Philadelphia Record now sums it up, "it is very clear that the American Woolen Company suffered seriously from the strikes in the clothing trades, somewhat from the uncertainties of tariff discussion, and little, or not at all, from the actual results of a reduction of duties." In his report Mr. Wood declares that "the tariff is now settled and we are fully prepared to do business under the conditions which it imposes."

(g) LABOR UNDER DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

Three Great Labor Struggles.

Thus far under the Wilson administration, with the term only well started, we have witnessed three great labor struggles: (1) the strike of the miners in West Virginia, (2) the strike of the Western Federation of Miners in Michigan, and (3) the strike of the miners of the United Mine Workers in Colorado.

These struggles have been as bitter and fiercely fought, and fraught with almost as much disaster to labor, as any of the great struggles of the working class in America. If the Democratic administration has meant anything to labor it does not seem apparent in view of these terrific struggles.

In different parts of this campaign book we describe these labor struggles in greater or less detail.

In the pages following we present the facts concerning the West Virginia situation under the caption, "West Virginia Coal Miners' Strike." Strangely enough, this struggle began under the Taft administration, with a Republican president in the chair and a Progressive governor in the state. Under the administration of this Progressive governor the fight against the miners was about as brutal and relentless as such a struggle well could be. The Progressive governor, Glasscock, one of the seven governors to urge Mr. Roosevelt to stand for the nomination for the presidency, was succeeded by a Republican governor while the strike was still in process. Thus we have the struggle proceeding under the rule of all of the capitalistic parties with practically the same results in every case, so far as labor is concerned.

Some of the details of this struggle we have related in a

later article in Part IV, under the caption, "Private Armies of Capitalism." The famous armored train, that moved through the miners' camp with machine guns, mowing down the miners, men, women, and children, is there described as told by the witnesses in the United States Senate investigation.

The violent fight of the mine owners against the Western Federation of Miners in Michigan took place under a Democratic governor in Michigan and a Democratic president in Washington. We describe this strike in the following pages, under the caption, "Michigan Copper Miners' Strike."

The struggle in Colorado we have described in the following pages, under the caption, "Colorado Coal Miners' Strike," which covers the story of the Ludlow tragedy and the progress of the strike up to the date of our going to press (June 1, 1914.)

These three great labor tragedies, all coming within the brief space of two years, ought to dispel once for all any hope that any one might have for any relief to labor thorough a Democratic administration.

The Wilson Administration and Labor.

By Lucien Saint.

"A better business system," is the phrase used by President Wilson to describe the hope of his administration; and in a "Record of Achievement," issued by the Democratic National Committee of this city, the workers of the country can for the first time fully realize that every effort of the Democrats has been to help business and to do nothing for the laboring man. Of the thirty-one "achievements" of the Administration, only one has anything to do directly with labor; this is the amendment to the Railway Arbitration Act, hurriedly enacted because of the obvious imperfections of the existing law.

It is clear that the Democratic party has done nothing for labor, and, from the best sources of information in the Capitol, it is equally clear that the Democratic party is not planning to do anything for labor.

In fact, the Democrats in Congress have shut down on labor legislation and have refused to resurrect bills which they talked about, and even voted on, when Taft was in the White House and when there was, therefore, not the remotest chance of their enactment into law. Among these bills, now dead, are:

THE CONVICT LABOR GOODS BILL (abolishing the interstate traffic in contract convict-made goods).

THE ANTI-INJUNCTION AND CONTEMPT BILLS.

THE SHERMAN BILL (doing away with the involuntary servitude of seamen under the present archaic laws and requiring steamship lines to make provision for safety).

THE NATIONAL CHILD LABOR BILL.

MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION.

Not a word is being said about even this superficial kind of reform.

The "Record of Achievement" is full of half statements calculated to mislead the workingman who is not familiar with the true situation at Washington. For instance, it is stated that as a result of the exposures made by President Wilson, the lobby has been eliminated from the halls of Congress. The lobby has not been eliminated. The National Association of Manufacturers is still on the job, and everybody knows it. The steamship lobby is also on the job, and as these words are being written the United States Chamber of Commerce, representing nearly a third of a million of business men, is holding a meet-

ing at which it is co-operating with Wilson's cabinet officers to shape the pending trust legislation.

The Democrats also take credit for the income tax and direct election of Senators' amendments to the Constitution, both of which were adopted before they came into power. They point with special pride to the schemes of the Navy Department to make the navy "attractive" to young men, and the fake dissolutions of the trusts are heralded as splendid works of statesmanship. Reform in the rules of the House bringing "an end to Cannon methods" is also credited by the Democrats to themselves. Of course, this is absolutely false, for the end of Cannonism, which happened four years ago, was the signal for the beginning of the Underwood tyranny, of which the Democrats are the chief beneficiaries.

Woodrow Wilson's "achievements," in short, have profited two parties—the Democratic Party and Organized Business. They have not profited the workers. They have not reduced the cost of living, raised wages, or cut down long hours of toil. These achievements have been many and the list is impressive to look at: but they don't amount to a hill of beans.

Democrats for Child Labor.

(Newspaper clipping.)

Washington, D. C., March 18, 1914.

The Democratic majority of the House of Representatives today took an open stand in favor of child labor. The House was considering the Hensley bill prohibiting the importation of the products of foreign convict labor. Representative Kelley of Pennsylvania offered an amendment extending the prohibition to the products of factories employing children under 14 years of age. Representative Kelley of Michigan said children 10 and 12 years old were employed in the Georgia mills.

"Such a statement comes with bad grace from the gentleman from Michigan, whose state now is a stench in the nostrils of civilization," Representative Howard of Georgia said. "What happens to law abiding citizens in your state? You shotgun them, shoot them, murder them."

Representative Tribble of Georgia read from the statutes of his state to show that the employment of children under 14 is forbidden. Mr. Mann silenced Mr. Tribble by taking the volume and reading the entire statute, thus disclosing that the age limit is 10 for day and 14 for night work.

The child labor amendment was defeated, 64 to 80. Another amendment, excluding the products of children under 12 years of age, was defeated, 38 to 77.

The Democrats even voted down an amendment by Representative Payne, which was the child labor provision the Senate put into the tariff bill last year.

3. The Progressive Party.

(a) PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM—1912.

The conscience of the people, in a time of grave national problems, has called into being a new party, born of the nation's awakened sense of justice.

We of the Progressive Party here dedicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the duty laid upon us by our fathers to maintain that government of the people, by the people, and for the people whose foundations they laid.

We hold with Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln that the people are the masters of their constitution to fulfill its purposes and to safeguard it from those who, by perversion of its intent, would convert it into an instrument of injustice. In accordance with the needs of each generation the people must

use their sovereign powers to establish and maintain equal opportunity and industrial justice, to secure which this government was founded and without which no republic can endure.

This country belongs to the people who inhabit it. Its resources, its business, its institutions, and its laws should be utilized, maintained, or altered in whatever manner will best promote the general interest. It is time to set the public welfare in the first place.

The Old Parties.

Political parties exist to secure responsible government and to execute the will of the people. From these great tasks both of the old parties have turned aside. Instead of instruments to promote the general welfare, they have become tools of corrupt interests which use them impartially to serve their selfish purposes.

Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government, owing no allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics, is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.

The deliberate betrayal of its trust by the Republican party and the fatal incapacity of the Democratic party to deal with the new issues of the new time have compelled the people to forge a new instrument of government through which to give effect to their will in laws and institutions. Unhampered by tradition, uncorrupted by power, undismayed by the magnitude of the task, the new party offers itself as the instrument of the people to sweep away old abuses, to build a new and nobler commonwealth.

This declaration is our covenant with the people, and we hereby bind the party and its candidates in state and nation to the pledges made herein.

The Rule of the People.

The National Progressive Party, committed to the principle of government by a self-controlled democracy expressing its will through representatives of the people, pledges itself to secure such alterations in the fundamental law of the several states and of the United States as shall insure the representative character of the government.

In particular the party declares for direct primaries for the nomination of state and national officers, for nation-wide preferential primaries for candidates for the presidency, for the direct election of United States senators by the people, and we urge on the states the policy of the short ballot with responsibility to the people secured by the initiative, referendum, and recall.

Amendment of Constitution.

The Progressive party, believing that a free people should have the power from time to time to amend their fundamental law so as to adopt it progressively to the changing needs of the people, pledges itself to provide a more easy and expeditious method of amending the federal Constitution.

Nation and State.

Up to the limit of the Constitution, and later by amendment of the Constitution, if found necessary, we advocate bringing under effective national jurisdiction those problems which have expanded beyond reach of the individual states.

It is as grotesque as it is intolerable that the several states should by unequal laws in matters of common concern become

competing commercial agencies, barter the lives of their children, the health of their women and the safety and well being of their working people for the profit of their financial interests.

The extreme insistence on state's rights by the Democratic party in the Baltimore platform demonstrates anew its inability to understand the world into which it has survived or administer the affairs of a union of states which in all essential respects become one people.

Equal Suffrage.

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

Corrupt Practices.

We pledge our party to legislation that will compel strict limitation of all campaign contributions and expenditures, and detailed publicity of both before as well as after primaries and elections.

We pledge our party to legislation compelling the registration of lobbyists; publicity of committee hearings, except in foreign affairs, and recording of all votes in committee; and forbidding federal appointees from holding office in state or national political organizations or taking part as officers or delegates in political conventions for the nomination of elective state or national officials.

The Courts.

The Progressive party demands such restriction of the power of the courts as shall leave to the people the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy. To secure this end it pledges itself to provide:

(1) That when an act, passed under the police power of the state, is held unconstitutional under the state constitution by the courts, the people, after an ample interval for deliberation, shall have an opportunity to vote on the question whether they desire the act to become law notwithstanding such decision.

(2) That every decision of the highest appellate court of a state declaring an act of the legislature unconstitutional on the ground of its violation of the federal Constitution shall be subject to the same review by the Supreme Court of the United States as is now accorded to decisions sustaining such legislation.

Administration of Justice.

The Progressive party, in order to secure to the people a better administration of justice and by that means to bring about a more general respect for the law and the courts, pledges itself to work unceasingly for the reform of legal procedure and judicial methods.

We believe that the issuance of injunctions in cases arising out of labor disputes should be prohibited when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes existed.

We also believe that a person cited for contempt in labor disputes, except when such contempt was committed in the actual presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere with the proper administration of justice, should have a right to trial by jury.

Social and Industrial Justice.

The supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human resources through an enlarged measure of social and industrial justice. We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in state and nation for:

Effective legislation looking to the prevention of industrial accidents, occupational diseases, overwork, involuntary unemployment, and other injurious effects incident to modern industry.

The fixing of minimum safety and health standards for the various occupations and the exercise of the public authority of state and nation, including the federal control over interstate commerce and the taxing power, to maintain such standards.

The prohibition of child labor.

Minimum wage standards for working women, to provide a "living wage" in all industrial occupations.

The general prohibition of night work for women and the establishment of an eight-hour day for women and young persons.

One day's rest in seven for all wage workers.

The eight-hour day in continuous twenty-four-hour industries.

The abolition of the convict contract labor system, substituting a system of prison production for governmental consumption only, and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families.

Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor; full reports upon industrial accidents and diseases, and the opening to public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures and check systems on labor products.

Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident and injury and trade disease which will transfer the burden of lost earnings from the families of working people to the industry and thus to the community.

The protection of home life against the hazards of sickness, irregular employment and old age through the adoption of a system of social insurance adapted to American use.

The development of the creative labor power of America by lifting the last load of illiteracy from American youth and establishing continuation schools for industrial education under public control and encouraging agricultural education and demonstration in rural schools.

The establishment of industrial research laboratories to put the methods and discoveries of science at the service of American producers.

We favor the organization of the workers, men and women, as a means of protecting their interests and of promoting their progress.

Department of Labor.

We pledge the party to establish a department of labor with a seat in the cabinet and with wide jurisdiction over matters affecting the conditions of labor and living.

Country Life.

The development and prosperity of country life are as important to the people who live in the cities as they are to the farmers. Increase of prosperity on the farm will favorably affect the cost of living and promote the interests of all who dwell in the country and all who depend upon its products for clothing, shelter and food.

We pledge our party to foster the development of agricultural credit and co-operation, the teaching of agriculture in schools, agricultural college extension, the use of mechanical power on the farm, and to re-establish the country life commission, thus directly promoting the welfare of the farmers and

bringing the benefits of better farming, better business and better living within their reach.

High Cost of Living.

The high cost of living is due partly to world-wide and partly to local causes, partly to natural and partly to artificial causes. The measures proposed in this platform on various subjects, such as the tariff, the trusts and conservation, will of themselves remove the artificial causes. There will remain other elements, such as the tendency to leave the country for the city, waste, extravagance, bad system of taxation, poor methods of raising crops, and bad business methods in marketing crops. To remedy these conditions requires the fullest information and, based on this information, effective government supervision and control to remove all the artificial causes. We pledge ourselves to such full and immediate inquiry and to immediate action to deal with every need such inquiry discloses.

Health.

We favor the union of all the existing agencies of the federal government dealing with the public health into a single national health service without discrimination against or for any one set of therapeutic methods, school of medicine, or school of healing, with such additional powers as may be necessary to enable it to perform efficiently such duties in the protection of the public from preventable disease as may be properly undertaken by the federal authorities, including the execution of existing laws regarding pure food, quarantine and cognate subjects; the promotion of vital statistics and the extension of the registration area of such statistics and co-operation with the health activities of the various states and cities of the nation.

Trust Regulations.

We believe that true popular government, justice and prosperity go hand in hand and, so believing, it is our purpose to secure that large measure of general prosperity which is the fruit of legitimate and honest business, fostered by equal justice and by sound progressive laws.

We demand that the test of true prosperity shall be the benefits conferred thereby on all the citizens, not confined to individuals or classes, and that the test of corporate efficiency shall be the ability better to serve the public; that those who profit by the control of business affairs shall justify that profit and that control by sharing with the public the fruits thereof.

We therefore demand a strong national regulation of interstate corporations. The corporation is an essential part of modern business. The concentration of modern business in some degree is both inevitable and necessary for national and international business efficiency. But the existing concentration of vast wealth under a corporate system, unguarded and uncontrolled by the nation, has placed in the hands of a few men enormous, secret, irresponsible power over the daily life of the citizen—a power insufferable in a free government and certain of abuse.

This power has been abused in monopoly of national resources, in stock watering, in unfair competition and unfair privileges and finally in sinister influences on the public agencies of state and nation. We do not fear commercial power, but we insist that it shall be exercised openly, under publicity, supervision and regulation of the most efficient sort which will preserve its good while eradicating and preventing its evils.

To that end we urge the establishment of a strong federal administrative commission of high standing, which shall main-

tain permanent active supervision over industrial corporations engaged in interstate commerce, or such of them as are of public importance, doing for them what the government now does for the national banks and what is now done for the railroads by the interstate commerce commission. Such a commission must enforce the complete publicity of those corporate transactions which are of public interest; must attack unfair competition, false capitalization and special privilege and by continuous trained watchfulness guard and keep open equally to all the highways of American commerce.

Thus the business man will have certain knowledge of the law and will be able to conduct his business easily in conformity therewith, the investor will find security for his capital, dividends will be rendered more certain and the savings of the people will be drawn naturally and safely into the channels of trade.

Under such a system of constructive regulation legitimate business, freed from confusion, uncertainty and fruitless litigation, will develop normally in response to the energy and enterprise of the American business man.

Patents.

We pledge ourselves to the enactment of a patent law which will make it impossible for patents to be suppressed or used against the public welfare in the interests of injurious monopolies.

Interstate Commerce Commission.

We pledge our party to secure to the interstate commerce commission the power to value the physical property of railroads. In order that the power of the commission to protect the people may not be impaired or destroyed, we demand the abolition of the commerce court.

Currency.

We believe there exists imperative need for prompt legislation for the improvement of our national currency system. We believe the present method of issuing notes through private agencies is harmful and unscientific. The issue of currency is fundamentally a government function and the system should have as basic principles soundness and elasticity. The control should be lodged with the government and should be protected from domination or manipulation by Wall Street or any special interests.

We are opposed to the so-called Aldrich currency bill because its provisions would place our currency and credit system in private banks, not subject to effective public control.

Commercial Development.

The time has come when the federal government should co-operate with manufacturers and producers in extending our foreign commerce. To this end we demand adequate appropriations by Congress and the appointment of diplomatic and consular officers solely with a view to their special fitness and worth and not in consideration of political expediency.

It is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce. We are pre-eminently fitted to do this because as a people we have developed high skill in the art of manufacturing. Our business men are strong executives, strong organizers. In every way possible our federal government should co-operate in this important matter.

Any one who has had opportunity to study and observe first hand Germany's course in this respect must realize that their

policy of co-operation between government and business has in a comparatively few years made them the leading competitors for the commerce of the world.

It should be remembered that they are doing this on a national scale and with large units of business, while the Democrats would have us believe that we should do it with small units of business, which would be controlled, not by the national government, but for forty-eight conflicting state sovereignties.

Such a policy is utterly out of keeping with the progress of the times and gives our great commercial rivals in Europe, hungry for international markets, golden opportunities of which they are rapidly taking advantage.

Conservation.

The natural resources of the nation must be promptly developed and generously used to supply the people's needs, but we can not safely allow them to be wasted, exploited, monopolized, or controlled against the general good. We heartily favor the policy of conservation and we pledge our party to protect the national forests without hindering their legitimate use for the benefit of all the people. Agricultural lands in the national forests are and should remain open to the genuine settler. Conservation will not retard legitimate development. The honest settler must receive his patent promptly without hindrance rules or delays.

We believe that the remaining forests, coal and oil lands, water powers and other natural resources still in state or national control (except agricultural lands) are more likely to be wisely conserved and utilized for the general welfare if held in the public hands. In order that consumers and producers, managers and workmen, now and hereafter, need not pay toll to private monopolies of power and raw material, we demand that such resources shall be retained by the state or nation and opened to immediate use under laws which will encourage development and make to the people a moderate return for benefits conferred.

In particular we pledge our party to require reasonable compensation to the public for water power rights hereafter granted by the public. We pledge legislation to lease to the public grazing lands under equitable provisions now pending which will increase the production of food for the people and thoroughly safeguard the rights of the actual homemaker. Natural resources whose conservation is necessary for the national welfare should be owned or controlled by the nation.

Good Roads.

We recognize the vital importance of good roads and we pledge our party to foster their extension in every proper way, and we favor the early construction of national highways. We also favor the 'extension' of the rural free delivery service.

Alaska.

The coal and other natural resources of Alaska should be opened to development at once. They are owned by the people of the United States, and are safe from monopoly, waste, or destruction only while so owned. We demand that they shall neither be sold nor given away except under the homestead law, but while held in government ownership shall be opened to use promptly upon liberal terms requiring immediate development.

Thus the benefit of cheap fuel will accrue to the government of the United States and to the people of Alaska and the Pacific coast; the settlement of extensive agricultural lands will be hastened; the extermination of the salmon will be prevented,

and the just and wise development of Alaskan resources will take the place of private extortion or monopoly. We demand also that extortion or monopoly in transportation shall be prevented by the prompt acquisition, construction, or improvement by the government of such railroads, harbor and other facilities for the transportation as the welfare of the people may demand.

We promise the people of the territory of Alaska the same measure of local self-government that was given to other American territories, and that federal officials appointed there shall be qualified by previous bona fide residence in the territory.

Waterways.

The rivers of the United States are the natural arteries of this continent. We demand that they shall be opened to traffic, as indispensable parts of a great nation-wide system of transportation, in which the Panama canal will be the central link, thus enabling the whole interior of the United States to share with the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard in the benefit derived from the canal. It is a national obligation to develop our rivers and especially the Mississippi and its tributaries, without delay, under a comprehensive general plan governing each river system from its source to its mouth, designed to secure its highest usefulness for navigation, irrigation, domestic supply, water-power and the prevention of floods.

We pledge our party to the immediate preparation of such a plan which should be made and carried out in a close and friendly co-operation between the nation, the states and the cities affected. Under such a plan, the destructive floods of the Mississippi and other streams which represent a vast and needless loss to the nation would be controlled by forest conservation and water storage at the headwaters and by levees below, land sufficient to support millions of people would be reclaimed from the deserts and the swamps, waterpower enough to transform the industrial standings of whole states would be developed, adequate water terminals would be provided, transportation by river would revive and the railroads would be compelled to co-operate as freely with the boat lines as with each other.

The equipment, organization and experience acquired in constructing the Panama canal soon will be available for the lakes-to-the-gulf deep waterway and other portions of this great work and should be utilized by the nation in co-operation with the various states at the lowest net cost to the people.

Panama Canal.

The Panama canal, built and paid for by the American people, must be used primarily for their benefit. We demand that the canal shall be so operated as to break the transportation monopoly now held and misused by the transcontinental railroads by maintaining sea competition with them; that ships directly or indirectly owned or controlled by American railroad corporations shall not be permitted to use the canal, and that American ships engaged in coastwise trade shall pay no tolls.

The Progressive party will favor legislation having for its aim the development of friendship and commerce between the United States and Latin American nations.

Tariff.

We believe in a protective tariff which shall equalize conditions of competition between the United States and foreign countries, both for the farmer and the manufacturer, and which shall maintain for labor an adequate standard of living. Primarily, the benefit of any tariff should be disclosed in the pay

envelope of the laborer. We declare that no industry deserves protection which is unfair to labor or which is operating in violation of federal law. We believe that the presumption is always in favor of the consuming public.

We demand tariff revision because the present tariff is unjust to the people of the United States. Fair dealing toward the people requires an immediate downward revision of those schedules wherein duties are shown to be unjust or excessive.

We pledge ourselves to the establishment of a non-partisan scientific tariff commission, reporting both to the president and to either branch of Congress, which shall report, first, as to the costs of production, efficiency of labor, capitalization, industrial organization and efficiency, and the general competitive position in this country and abroad of industries seeking protection from Congress; secondly, as to the revenue producing power of the tariff and its relation to these sources of government; and, thirdly, as to the effect of the tariff on prices, operations of middlemen and on the purchasing power of the consumer. We believe that this commission should have plenary power to elicit information and for this purpose to prescribe an uniform system of accounting for the great protected industries. The work of the commission should not prevent the immediate adoption of acts reducing those schedules generally recognized as excessive.

We condemn the Payne-Aldrich bill as unjust to the people. The Republican organization is in the hands of those who have broken, and can not again be trusted to keep the promise of necessary downward revision. The Democratic party is committed to the destruction of the protective system through a tariff for revenue only—a policy which would inevitably produce widespread industrial and commercial disaster. We demand the immediate repeal of the Canadian reciprocity act.

Inheritance and Income Tax.

We believe in a graduated inheritance tax as a national means of equalizing the obligations of holders of property to government, and we hereby pledge our party to enact such a federal law as will tax large inheritances, returning to the states an equitable percentage of all amounts collected. We favor the ratification of the pending amendment to the constitution giving the government power to levy an income tax.

Peace and National Defense.

The Progressive party deplors the survival in our civilization of the barbaric system of warfare among nations, with its enormous waste of resources even in time of peace, and the consequent impoverishment of the life of the toiling masses. We pledge the party to use its best endeavors to substitute judicial and other peaceful means of settling international differences.

We favor an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces. Pending such an agreement, and as the best means of preserving peace, we pledge ourselves to maintain for the present the policy of building two battleships a year.

We pledge our party to protect the rights of American citizenship at home and abroad. No treaty should receive the sanction of our government which discriminates between American citizens because of birthplace, race or religion, or that does not recognize the absolute right of expatriation.

The Immigrant.

Through the establishment of industrial standards, we propose to secure to the able-bodied immigrant and to his native fellow workers a larger share of American opportunity.

We denounce the fatal policy of indifference and neglect which has left our enormous immigrant population to become

the prey of chance and cupidity. We favor governmental action to encourage the distribution of immigrants away from the congested cities, rigidly to supervise all private agencies dealing with them, and to promote their assimilation, education and advancement.

Pensions.

We pledge ourselves to a wise and just policy of pensioning American soldiers and sailors and their widows and children by the federal government.

And we approve the policy of the southern states in granting pensions to the ex-confederate soldiers and sailors and their widows and children.

Parcels Post.

We pledge our party to the immediate creation of a parcels post, with rates proportionate to distance and service.

Civil Service.

We condemn the violations of the civil service law under the present administration, including the coercion and assessment of subordinate employes and the president's refusal to punish such violation after a finding of guilty by his own commission; his distribution of patronage among subservient congressmen, while withholding it from those who refuse support of administration measures; his withdrawal of nominations from the Senate until political support for himself was secured and his open use of the offices to reward those who voted for his re-nomination.

To eradicate these abuses, we demand not only the enforcement of the civil service act in letter and spirit, but also legislation which will bring under the competitive system postmasters, collectors, marshals and all other non-political officers, as well as the enactment of an equitable retirement law, and we also insist upon continuous service during good behavior and efficiency.

We pledge our party to readjustment of the business methods of the national government and a proper co-ordination of the federal bureaus, which will increase the economy and efficiency of the government service, prevent duplications and secure better results to the taxpayers for every dollar expended.

United States Supervision Over Investments.

The people of the United States are swindled out of many millions of dollars every year through worthless investments. The plain people, the wage earner and the men and women with small savings, have no way of knowing the merit of concerns sending out highly colored prospectuses offering stock for sale, prospectuses that make big returns seem certain and fortunes easily within grasp.

We hold it to be the duty of the government to protect its people from this kind of piracy. We therefore demand wise, carefully thought out legislation that will give us such governmental supervision over this matter as will furnish to the people of the United States this much needed protection, and we pledge ourselves thereto.

Conclusion.

On these principles and on the recognized desirability of uniting the progressive forces of the nation into an organization which shall unequivocally represent the progressive spirit and

policy, we appeal for the support of all American citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

(b) COMMENTS ON THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

(John C. Kennedy in the Chicago Daily World, August 7, 1912.)

The political and economic program of the Progressive party is obviously designed to preserve the existing industrial order. Mr. Roosevelt himself has stated that his program is in the interests of the business men. The Progressive party indorses direct primaries, the initiative, the referendum and the recall. These measures are all desirable, but it is obvious that the reason Mr. Roosevelt favors them is that he and his fellow Progressives must do so in order to defeat the political machines which are in control of the Republican and Democratic reactionaries.

If the Progressive party really believes in democracy it will not offer us a few measures of political democracy while at the same time it advocates benevolent feudalism in industry. Political democracy can be secured and maintained in America only when we have industrial democracy.

A BISMARCK PROGRAM.

The economic program of the Progressive party is supposed to be "an antidote to anarchy and a corrective to Socialism." Bismarck, the Iron Chancellor, offered a similar program to the German nation thirty years ago as "an antidote to anarchy and a corrective to Socialism." The program was not only offered, but to a large extent it has actually been carried out.

The German workers have enjoyed for many years government insurance against sickness, accidents and invalidity, as well as old age pensions. They are protected by a code of factory legislation which in many respects is superior to that advocated by the Progressive party. Yet the Bismarck program did not prove to be a "corrective to Socialism." When Bismarck first proposed his legislation the Socialist party of Germany polled fewer than 500,000 votes. In the general election last January the German Socialist party polled over 4,250,000 votes—more than any other party in the German empire, and sent 110 Socialist representatives to the German Reichstag.

The Bismarck program, which was meant to preserve the existing capitalistic order, slightly improved the condition of workers in some respects, but it did not abolish the exploitation of the working class, and for that reason the Socialist party has continued to grow in strength.

The workers of Germany were not deceived by the Bismarck "corrective to Socialism," nor will the American workers be fooled by Roosevelt's program of capitalistic reform.

WHO ARE RUNNING THIS "PEOPLE'S PARTY?"

If the Progressive party is really representative of the people, is it not strange that not a single workingman should be found among the delegates at its convention? The workers and farmers, as Mr. Roosevelt himself declares, constitute nine-tenths of our population, and yet the workers and the farmers have nothing to do with the actual management of the Progressive party.

What sort of a democracy is this where the people have nothing to do with the running of their own affairs? The truth of the matter is that the Progressive party is a middle class party, which promises to "hand something down" to the working class and to prevent the capitalist class from grinding down the workers to such a level that they will revolt and overturn the whole capitalist system.

Over against the Progressive party's program of capitalistic palliatives and reforms calculated to bolster up and preserve the present industrial system, the Socialist party offers a program which strikes at the root of the exploitation of the working class. We stand, not for a capitalistic benevolent feudalism, but for a co-operative industrial democracy in which the industries will be owned and operated by the government, the government being controlled by the workers.

The choice between the Progressive party and the Socialist party is a choice between industrial feudalism and industrial democracy, a choice between a Bismarck program designed to preserve the capitalist system and a working class program designed to abolish capitalist exploitation of the mass of the people.

Why the Progressive Party Was Organized.

(Statement by Chairman Hotchkiss of the Progressive Party, April, 1913.)

"In such a party rest our hopes against the Socialist and the socialistic state. You men may not yet fully sense the danger. We of the East see it, feel it. The forces of order, the rights of states forgotten, all the powers of the nation, widened and strengthened, must crytallize about or fuse with this party of the new order or the demagogue of the day may be the demigod of tomorrow."

George W. Perkins—"Angel" of the Progressive Party.

(From "Who's Who in America," 1912.)

"George W. Perkins; financier; became partner in banking firm of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., 1901; director, Northern Securities Company; director, International Mercantile Marine Company; director, United States Steel Corporation; chairman finance committee and director International Harvester Company; vice-president, Great Central Dock Company; director, Erie Railroad Company; director, Astor Trust Company, et cetera.

Still Clings to Capitalism.

In spite of its seeming radicalism, in spite of its professed progressivism, the Progressive party still clings to capitalism. In the face of the tremendous problems presented by the monopolies and trusts, the increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, the ruthless exploitation of labor, and plunder of the people by capitalism, the Progressive party still vainly hopes that it may regulate the trusts. The Progressive party has nowhere and at no time taken a clear or definite stand for the public ownership of public utilities, which is the only possible solution of the problem. The utter futility of the attempt to "regulate" the trusts and the long record of dismal failure in that direction we treat fully in the pages following, under Section 5, Subsection (c), under the caption "Regulation a Failure."

(c) WEST VIRGINIA UNDER A PROGRESSIVE GOVERNOR.

(From report of the Socialist Party investigating committee on the West Virginia Strike, May 28, 1913.)

"It was under the administration of Glasscock (a progressive, and one of the seven governors who asked Roosevelt to run for president) that martial law was declared; that the military commission was created; that Mother Jones, John Brown, C. H. Boswell and numerous others were court-martialed and con-

victed; and it was also under the Glasscock administration that an armored train, in the name of law and order, shot up the cabins and tents of the miners, dealing out death and destruction under cover of darkness, an outrage so infamous that it will remain forever as a foul and indelible blot upon the state in which it was perpetrated."

For the story of the strike in West Virginia see Part IV, Section 12, Subsection (a), on "West Virginia Coal Miners' Strike."

And for details of this armored train and its murderous assault upon the miners see article in Part IV, Section 11, Subsection (i), on "The Private Armies of Capitalism."

4. The Prohibition Party.

(a) PROHIBITION PLATFORM.

The Prohibition party in national convention at Atlantic City, N. J., July 10, 1912, recognizing God as the source of all governmental authority, makes the following declaration of principles and policies:

1. The alcoholic drink traffic is wrong; is the most serious drain on the wealth and resources of the nation; is detrimental to the general welfare and destructive to the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. All laws taxing or licensing a traffic which produces crime, poverty and political corruption, and spreads disease and death should be repealed. To destroy such a traffic there must be elected to power a political party which will administer the government from the standpoint that the alcoholic drink traffic is a crime and not a business, and we pledge that the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic beverages shall be prohibited.

We favor:

2. Suffrage for women on the same terms as for men.
3. A uniform marriage and divorce law. The extermination of polygamy. And the complete suppression of the traffic in girls.

4. Absolute protection of the rights of labor, without impairment of the rights of capital.

5. The settlement of all international disputes by arbitration.

6. The abolition of child labor in mines, workshops and factories, with the rigid enforcement of the laws now flagrantly violated.

7. The election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

8. A presidential term of six years, and one term only.

9. Court review of postoffice and other departmental decisions and orders; the extension of the postal savings bank system, and of rural delivery, and the establishment of an efficient parcel post.

10. The initiative, referendum and recall.

11. As the tariff is a commercial question it should be fixed on the scientific basis of accurate knowledge, secured by means of a permanent omnipartisan tariff commission, with ample powers.

12. Equitable graduated income and inheritance taxes.

13. Conservation of our forest and mineral reserves, and the reclamation of waste lands. All mineral and timber lands, and water powers, now owned by the government, should be held permanently and leased for revenue purposes.

14. Clearly defined laws for the regulation and control of corporations transacting an interstate business.

15. Efficiency and economy in governmental administration.

16. The protection of one day in seven as a day of rest.

To these fundamental principles, the National Prohibition party renews its long allegiance, and on these issues invites the co-operation of all good citizens, to the end that the true object of government may be attained, namely, equal and exact justice for all.

(b) PROHIBITION VOTE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

| | | | |
|------------|---------|------------|---------|
| 1876 | 9,522 | 1896 | 132,007 |
| 1880 | 10,305 | 1900 | 208,914 |
| 1884 | 151,809 | 1904 | 258,536 |
| 1888 | 249,907 | 1908 | 253,840 |
| 1892 | 264,133 | 1912 | 206,275 |

The Prohibition party cast more votes in 1888—twenty-five years ago—than it cast in 1912.

(c) ATTITUDE OF SOCIALIST PARTY ON THE LIQUOR QUESTION.

Resolutions of the Socialist Party of the United States on Temperance.

The manufacture and sale for profit of intoxicating and adulterated liquors leads directly to many serious social evils. Intemperance in the use of alcoholic liquors weakens the physical, mental and moral powers.

We hold, therefore, that any excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquors by members of the working class is a serious obstacle to the triumph of our class, since it impairs the vigor of the fighters in the political and economic struggle, and we urge the members of the working class to avoid any indulgence which might impair their ability to wage a successful political and economic struggle, and so hinder the progress of the movement for their emancipation.

We do not believe that the evils of alcoholism can be eradicated by repressive measures or any extension of the police powers of the capitalist state—alcoholism is a disease of which capitalism is the chief cause. Poverty, overwork and overworry necessarily result in intemperance on the part of the victims. To abolish the wage system with all its evils is the surest way to eliminate the evils of alcoholism and the traffic in intoxicating liquor.—Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party at Indianapolis, Ind., May, 1912.

(d) ATTITUDE OF SOME EUROPEAN SOCIALIST PARTIES ON THE LIQUOR PROBLEM.

Norwegian.

“War against the liquor traffic, through legislation that shall conclude in national prohibition.”—(Plank in Norwegian Socialist Platform, adopted in 1911 and 1912.)

Finnish.

“General prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.”—(Plank from Socialist Platform of Finland, adopted in 1903 and 1906.)

Swedish.

“Promotion of the temperance movement through education in all public schools, as to nature and effects of alcohol and the support of practical temperance legislation.”—(Plank from Swedish Socialist Platform, adopted in 1905.)

(e) INTEMPERANCE NOT THE CHIEF CAUSE OF POVERTY.

Economic Conditions, Not Intemperance, the Chief Cause of Poverty.

(From article on "Poverty," Bliss' Encyclopedia of Social Reform.)

The causes of poverty are of necessity so numerous and complex that sociologists today no longer attempt to analyze them or state them, and much less venture opinion as to how far different causes contribute to results. The most that can be done, scientifically, is to say that such and such causes tend to produce poverty, and that some causes seem to be more potential than others. Life, as it affects poverty, is seen today to be too complex for statistical or any form of exact analysis.

Perhaps the nearest approach to a scientific tabulation and valuation of different causes is the one made in 1894 by Prof. A. G. Warner, and published in his "American Charities." He has collected and tabulated the results of investigations into the causes of thousands of actual cases of poverty in the United States, England and Germany. His table includes practically all the findings, as to actual cases of poverty, made in a scientific way by trained investigators, and embodies the result of investigations by the charity organization societies of Baltimore, Buffalo and New York City, the associated charities of Boston and Cincinnati, the studies of Charles Booth in Stepney and St. Pancras parishes in London, the statements of Bomert ("Armenwesen in 76 Deutschen Stadten") for seventy-six German cities, published in 1886. It will be seen that here, if anywhere, we have a scientific analysis of the facts of the case, as collected by persons without particular bias. * * *

It will be seen from this table that the chief single cause of poverty as here studied is sickness or death in the families of the poor. Lack of work stands second, although if the averages as to lack of work, insufficient work and poorly paid work be added together, as well they might be, they form the supreme cause of poverty. Drink stands third, though only one-half as great a cause as unemployment. Says Prof. Warner (pages 60 and 65):

"Probably nothing in the tables of the causes of poverty, as ascertained by cold counting, will more surprise the average reader than the fact that intemperance is held to be the chief cause in only from one-fifteenth to one-fifth of the cases, and that where an attempt is made to learn in how many cases it had a contributory influence, its presence cannot be traced at all in more than 28.1 per cent of the cases. (See Intemperance.) Professor Warner sums up the case by saying: "The general conclusion regarding drink as a cause of poverty is sufficiently well formulated by Mr. Booth. 'Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home and cursing the young lives of children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand an apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age; but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age would be better met'."

It will also be seen from the table that causes indicating misconduct average only 21.3 per cent, while causes indicating misfortune average 74.4, or over three times as much. Four per cent of the cases are not classified; but the causes indicated as unclassified belong to causes indicating misfortune much more than misconduct, at least as far as the individual studied is concerned.

(f) FRANCES E. WILLARD ON SOCIALISM.

(Frances E. Willard, in her presidential address before the W. C. T. U. in London, June, 1895; Encyclopedia Social Reform.)

For myself, twenty-one years of study and observation have convinced me that poverty is a prime cause of intemperance and that misery is the mother and hereditary appetite the father of drink hallucination.

To the labor reformer I have to say, you have united for home protection; so have we. You will bring it about by standing together at the ballot box; so shall we. In the slums they drink to forget; we would make life something they would gladly remember. We once said intemperance was the cause of poverty; now we have completed the circle of truth by saying poverty is the cause of intemperance, and that the underpaid, underfed, undersheltered, wage-earning teetotaler deserves a thousand times more credit than the teetotaler that is well fed, well paid and well cared for. Our objects are the same. Let us clasp hands in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace.

Ten years ago I could not have said it honestly, five years ago I could not have said it hopefully, but now I fearlessly declare it to be the right and duty of white ribbon women to help abolish poverty in the largest sense of that great phrase; but I must in the same breath ask our friends of the labor movement to recognize that our special work for the abolition of poverty consists in the abolition of the public house and the saloon.

(From Address at the National W. C. T. U. Convention at Buffalo in 1897.)

Look about you; the products of labor are on every hand; you could not maintain for a moment a well-ordered life without them; every object in your room has in it, for discerning eyes, the mark of ingenious tools and the pressure of labor's hands. But is it not the cruelest injustice for the wealthy, whose lives are surrounded and embellished by labor's work, to have a superabundance of the money which represents the aggregate of labor in any country, while the laborer himself is kept so steady at work that he has no time to acquire the education and refinements of life that would make him and his family agreeable companions to the rich and cultured?

The reason why I am a Socialist comes in just here.

I would take, not by force, but by the slow process of lawful acquisition through better legislation, as the outcome of a wiser ballot in the hands of men and women, the entire plant that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give them the finest physical development, but not to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share alike the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practical, indeed, that any other method is simply a relic of barbarism.

I believe that competition is doomed. The trust, whose single object is to abolish competition, has proved that we are better without than with it, and the moment corporations control the supply of any product, they combine. What the Socialist desires is that the corporation of humanity should control all production. Beloved comrades, this is the frictionless way; it is the higher way; it eliminates the motives for a selfish life; it enacts into our every-day living the ethics of Christ's gospel.

Nothing else will do it; nothing else can bring the glad day of universal brotherhood.

Oh, that I were young again, and it would have my life! It is God's way out of the wilderness and into the promised land. It is the very marrow of Christ's gospel. It is Christianity applied.

State of Illinois,
County of Cook. ss.

Winnie E. Branstetter, being first duly sworn, says that she personally visited the National Headquarters of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, at Evanston, Illinois.

Affiant further says that she has carefully examined the records at the aforesaid office of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and states that the language attributed to Frances E. Willard in the attached leaflet, is the language as spoken by Frances E. Willard at the National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union held in 1897, being quoted from pages 118, 119, 121, 142 and 153 of the official record of the proceedings of said convention.

WINNIE E. BRANSTETTER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 12th day of July, 1913.

(Signed) JAS. P. LARSEN,

(Seal) Notary Public.

On the evils of intemperance and the consumption of alcoholic liquors in the United States, see Part V, section 15.

5. The Futility of the Old Party Remedies.

(a) THE CAPITALIST ISSUES ARE SHAM ISSUES.

(From the speech of Hon. Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, in the House of Representatives, Thursday, July 18, 1912.)

The working class has nothing to hope for from either the Republican party or the Democratic party. The representatives of these parties may be, and very often are, very cultured and accomplished gentleman. Most of them are personally honest. However, they represent the capitalist system; and the more honest and consistent they are, the more loyal they are to their class.

And the two parties may fight about the spoils of this system, but neither of them is willing to change the economic basis of the present society.

It is, therefore, only natural that every law passed by the Republican or Democratic party benefits the capitalist class, or some group of it, in some manner—even laws that obviously seem to favor the workers, like the workmen's compensation act.

What the Two Old Parties Represent.

Political parties are simply the expressions of economic interests.

The Republican party is the favorite organization of the big capitalists. Why? Because it stood for a great deal of "business" during the late Civil War, and because, by its high-tariff proclivities and its banking laws, it has given a strong impetus to the profits of the manufacturers and bankers. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

For a generation it was considered the conservative business man's party of the country.

The Democratic party, in its great majority, stood for the economic and political interests of the slave owners before the Civil War. After the war it naturally has become the dominant party of the South, where the former slave owner is slowly getting to be a manufacturer, a banker, or a capitalist. Up

North the Democratic party, not having any great economic interests to express, soon fell into the hands of corrupt machines, at least in the large cities. Thus we have Tammany in New York, the Cook County Democracy in Chicago, the Rose Democracy in Milwaukee, and other benevolent graft institutions. It naturally also became the favorite organization of the liquor interests in the Northern States. [Applause on the Republican side.]

The capitalist class, therefore, is just as willing to deal with the Democratic party as with the Republican party. While the latter is conservative, the Democratic party is, to all intents and purposes, reactionary, especially on the industrial field; it would like to go back to the days before the war. Being behind the times in most things, it is especially ignorant and brutal in regard to the labor question, as the laws of many Southern States prove.

The Tariff and Labor.

As to the tariff issue as such, this issue is to the working class exactly what every other capitalist issue is. The workmen are interested in the tariff—as the tariff is now—as consumers only.

The tariff does not protect labor; at the same time any sudden change would be disastrous. It is mainly a manufacturers' issue—until labor really gets its share of the protection.

The tariff is not responsible for the trusts; there are trusts in England, where they have free trade. Moreover, the trusts are now in favor of free trade.

The Real Issue for the Working Class.

With us the great issue is the difference between what a workingman in this country produces on the average and what he gets.

It is a class issue; it is the great issue of the working class.

In 1909, in the 268,000 factories of this Nation, 6,600,000 wage earners added \$1,290 apiece for every worker employed.

Did those workers receive the value they put into the product? Not at all. They received \$518 apiece.

The other \$772 went to the employers and landowners. This surplus value went to the capitalist class as such—to the landowners, the bankers, and employers, and the holders of special privileges of some sort or another.

Wherever this surplus value goes it goes to some individuals or groups of the capitalist class in some form—either as profit, rent, interest, insurance, and so forth.

The Relative Share of the Worker is Getting Smaller.

Wage earners received more money in 1909 than they did in 1904. Their average in the former year was \$477, in the latter year \$518, a difference of \$41, or about 79 cents a week. The figures of wages are not yet classified for men, women, and children, and so we cannot tell where the greater rate of increase has gone, though the probability is that it has gone to the men.

The value added to production (that is, the value of the product less the cost of materials) averaged \$1,150 for each wage earner in 1904. It now averages \$1,290. But the relative share of the worker in the value of his product is less than it was in either 1899 or 1904.

Here are the comparative figures:

| Year. | Wages | Net production | Workers share Per cent. |
|-----------|-------|----------------|-------------------------|
| 1899..... | \$426 | \$1,025 | 41.6 |
| 1904..... | 477 | 1,150 | 41.5 |
| 1909..... | 518 | 1,290 | 40.1 |

Insecurity of Employment.

One of the particularly brutal elements of capitalism is shown by the figures for the seasonal variations in the amount of em-

ployment in the various great industries. Capital cannot keep its workers employed.

When it wants them it wants them bad; and when it does not want them, they may go and starve. In some of the industries the variation in the state of employment is only moderate.

In printing and publishing, for instance, the lowest number of wage earners employed at any time constituted 93.3 per cent of the largest number employed.

But in brick and tile making the minimum represented only 36.5 per cent of the maximum, and in canning and preserving only 12.9 per cent.

Even in the great steel and iron industry the number employed in March was 25 per cent less than that employed in December. Throughout the whole industrial scheme seasonal unemployment is a necessity under capitalism.

We Look Upon Tariff Issue As a Sham Battle.

Under these circumstances, is it surprising that we look upon the agitation for a low tariff or for a high tariff as a shameless humbug when we compare its importance with the question of the exploitation of labor?

Is it surprising that we look upon the return of tariff issue as simply a sham battle to divert the attention of the working-men from the main issue?

(c) BUSTING THE TRUSTS A FAILURE.

(From Bliss' Encyclopedia of Social Reform; article on Trusts.)

Almost every state in the U. S. and the federal government in two main bills has attempted legislation against trusts. Yet the movement has only gone on increasing. When the Standard Oil Trust was declared illegal in Ohio, it continued with even greater power under a new name, while its connections, assuming different names in different states to avoid the law, virtually form a single body. So, at less extent, with the other trusts.

The first general federal law which can be regarded as a result of the trust agitation was the Interstate Commerce Act passed in 1887. The act was the outgrowth of the sentiment which had been created during the previous years by the general cutting of rates by the railroads, and their inequitable dealings with shippers in all parts of the country. The relations of the railroads with the Standard Oil Trust were matters of particular criticism at this time, and the immediate purpose of the act was mainly to eliminate the illegal discriminations in favor of the Standard and, if possible, give all shippers the same opportunities.

The Interstate Commerce Law has now been in existence for twenty years, but its results have in no way verified the predictions of its framers. Recently its powers have been largely widened and prosecutions against the Standard Oil monopoly trust have been begun, and several have been successful to the extent of imposing fines running into many millions. But these have been usually subject to appeal to Supreme Court, while few believe they can break up the movement.

A measure which was created in 1890, and is popularly known as the Sherman Anti-trust Act, is the law which was passed for the express purpose of eliminating monopoly in railroads or other corporations which may become established "in restraint of trade." It is the law under which the Northern Securities Company was sued by the Attorney-General of the U. S. and declared illegal. The law declares unlawful every contract, combination or conspiracy in restraint of trade or

commerce among the several states or with foreign nations; and also declares unlawful monopolies, and any attempt to monopolize, or any combination or conspiracy to monopolize any interstate or international trade.

The law has been in effect now fifteen years and, with the exception of the Northern Securities Company case, has accomplished, at least until recently, practically nothing. Of the final result of the recent prosecutions it is too early to speak definitely. Most of the great trusts, however, have been formed since the passage of the law, and in spite of it, and most publicists believe that while perhaps some of the more apparent and grosser violations of the law may be prevented by such legislation, the essence, if not the necessity of trusts, has too deep a foundation in economic interest and practical common sense to be permanently and seriously affected by such laws. Colossal industries cannot by law be compelled to compete, only prevented from continuing in certain ways.

Dissolution of the Standard Oil Company.

The story of the sudden concentration following immediately upon the decision of the Supreme Court ordering the dissolution of the trust is told by Mr. Albert W. Atwood in the McClure Magazine for August, 1912. Mr. Atwood says, in speaking of one of the results, that the small stockholders in the company were practically wiped out.

"In one company," he says, "the extent of the falling off has been definitely shown. The Standard Oil subsidiary sent out, in January, sixty-one hundred checks of dividends. In April, when the next dividend was declared, the number of stockholders had decreased to two thousand (from 6,100 reduced to 2,000)."

The specialists in Standard Oil stocks on Wall Street all agree on this elimination of small stockholders. In many companies, they say, six or seven hundred stockholders dropped out immediately. The great stockholders, even if they have not bought stock, have certainly not sold.

But the speculation or even the dropping of shares by the small stockholders is not the main consideration in any real estimate of the whole transaction. All this happened, it is true, but the action of the United States went further than this. Even if the small stockholder had retained his holdings, whatever voice he could have had in the properties was automatically taken away from him by the action of the government.

Immediately upon the dissolution of the main holding company, it was decided, for self-evident reasons, that nothing less than one full share of any stock should have a vote in any of the concerns. Now, the ownership of one share of Washington Oil would have required the ownership of fourteen hundred shares of the old Standard Oil stock—an investment of a million dollars. Five hundred shares of the old stock would have been needed to own one share of the Borne-Scrymser, an investment of \$350,000; nearly a hundred shares to own one share of Standard Oil of Indiana. There was only one possible result: In most of the new concerns, a full half of the stockholders of the old Standard Oil Company were at once deprived of their vote; in many of the new concerns, four-fifths of them lost their voting power. Atwood says:

"How the sale of the stock, and the deprivation of small stockholders of their voting rights, have together acted to concentrate the power of the 'insiders' over the Standard Oil properties, is well shown by the great Standard Oil Company of Indiana, in which the most spectacular 'killing' took place. A year ago it had controlling it the six thousand stockholders of the Standard Oil; this spring it had fewer than nine hun-

dred and fifty stockholders eligible to vote; five-sixths of its voting stockholders had disappeared.

"So, then, the immediate effect of the government's action is this: It has eliminated the small stockholders, and has concentrated the ownership and control of the Standard Oil Company more than years of normal commercial development could have done.

"John D. Rockefeller holds in his name, as is shown by the figures of as recent date as this spring, one-quarter of the stock in all of the Standard Oil properties; six other individuals and estates hold a little over a quarter more; around them is a larger group of great holders of stock; and further down come the associates and active managers who are directing the business. These men, especially the half dozen interests which own a majority control—consider the Standard Oil as much their private property as a family horse."

Thus, the result of this much heralded victory on the part of our reformers who propose either to regulate or to bust the trust is, that the Standard Oil trust is bigger and mightier today than it ever has been before. And the concentration of its ownership, and the development of its power has never been so swift and certain as during the very months when the Government was supposed to have won its most signal victory.

Such is the final result of four and one-half years of litigation on the part of the United States Government against the Standard Oil Company; and such is the substance of the story that has taken eleven and a half millions of words of testimony for the Government to state.

From the Literary Digest of June 15, 1912, we take the following:

"In the New York Herald we read:

"The Federal authorities made their best efforts and operated under the most stringent laws on the books to abolish this fattest of trusts. The result was a paper victory for the people. The real victory, it is now admitted by Mr. Rockefeller, was won by the oil company, which is run in practically the same old way, by the same old men, with profits even greater than formerly."

A lawyer connected with this case estimates "from fairly exhaustive data," we read in the New York World, that Mr. Rockefeller's fortune now amounts to \$900,000,000, and that it has increased \$100,000,000 since the dissolution of Standard Oil.

The New York Evening Journal notes that before its dissolution the Standard Oil Trust was worth "just about \$321,000,000 less than it is worth now," and it goes on to say:

"When you compel a Tobacco Trust or a Standard Oil Trust to dissolve, what do you do?

"You give the insiders a chance to make millions' at the expense of innocent stockholders.

"Some of these separate Standard Oil concerns have jumped up to the most phenomenal prices of \$2,000 and \$3,000, and even \$6,500 a share.

"Can you imagine which particular individual knew what would happen?

"Don't you know that the insiders, the men who control the trust, knew perfectly well that one particular subsidiary concern was valuable, and that another particular concern was running at a loss or small profit? . . .

"As long as the trust was run all as one concern the stockholder of the trust stock got his part of the profit from everything.

"When you divide it up you find a few big, rich men holding the valuable parts in their hands and getting all the profit, and

the poor, silly fools—the public—holding in their little pockets the worthless stuff.

(From The Literary Digest, April 4, 1914.)

A sign of the times with Standard Oil, we are informed, is that while many Wall Street brokers have been laying off employes, dealers in Standard Oil subsidiary shares have in some offices doubled their payroll and kept their people busy until nine in the evening. Since the dissolution of the Standard Oil Company two years ago those shareholders of the old New Jersey company, says The Wall Street Journal, who have held on to all their fractions have benefited during that period of the appreciation in the market value of the companies' shares and of the cash dividends paid, and this paper adds:

"These indicate a total profit in Standard Oil shares since the dissolution of at least 115 per cent. On December 15, 1911, Standard Oil stock, which included the New Jersey company and all subsidiaries, sold at \$640 a share while today these shares are quoted around \$1,230, an increase of \$590 a share, or over 90 per cent. Cash dividends paid by Standard Oil Companies during the past two years have aggregated more than \$160,000,000, equivalent to over 160 per cent on the capital stock of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, and equivalent to over 25 per cent on the investment in the old shares at \$640. . . .

"A review of the thirty-four companies included in the Standard Oil group for 1913, the second year of restored competition between these companies under the watchful eye of the Washington Government, discloses a state of prosperity probably unequalled by any other group of companies in the United States."

Smashing the Tobacco Trust.

(From The Literary Digest, June 15, 1912.)

Turning to the litigation which has dragged the Tobacco Trust again into the limelight beside the Standard Oil octopus, we read that it is a suit brought by an independent tobacco concern, E. Locker & Co., against the American Tobacco Company, the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company, and the P. Lorillard Company. The petition claims that despite the dissolution decree, these companies are doing business virtually as the same old Tobacco Trust and employing the same old methods to crush independent dealers.

Referring ironically to the efforts of the officers of the companies which once made up the trust to restore competition between these companies, the petition says:

"One of the means employed by them in their earnest efforts to restore so-called competition is for four of the big companies to come into a territory, apparently to compete with each other, but in reality to attack the common enemy—that is, the independent manufacturer—simultaneously, and from all sides; so that whereas the independent tobacco people had a fighting chance before, when attacked by one trust, their annihilation is now a matter of certainty, for who can withstand a simultaneous attack of four trusts operating in concert and at the same time? And so there have been more failures of independent tobacco jobbers in this city within the last few months, since these new companies have started out to restore competition, than there have been in so many years."

(From "Concentration and Control," by Charles R. Van Hise, pages 184-185, published by The Macmillan Company.)

In accordance with the decree and order of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Circuit Court of the United

States for the Southern District of New York, on November 6, 1911, approved a plan for disintegrating the American Tobacco Company.

The stock of the American Tobacco Company was, in a manner like that of Standard Oil, distributed proportionally to his holdings to each stockholder of the fourteen companies. There were twenty-nine men who held a dominating position in the old corporation, and they in like manner hold a dominating position in the three new companies into which the chief assets of the old company have been divided.

In the opinion of Mr. Louis Brandeis, one of the counsel for the independent companies, the order to disintegrate the American Tobacco Company will prove to be a farce. He says that not only was the tobacco business distributed among three companies, but the part of the business which was assigned to each company was such as to give them substantial monopoly for important lines of business assigned to them. Mr. Felix H. Levy, another of the attorneys of the independent companies, says the plan of disintegration "is a sham and subterfuge." Mr. Samuel Untermyer says: "They have simply changed its clothes, that is all; and they have not made a very complete change at that."

As a matter of fact, we now have fourteen tobacco combinations which have the sanction of the courts instead of one that did not. It is notable that after the order was given by the Supreme Court to dissolve the corporation, the stock of the American Tobacco Company fell to 390 per share; but that after the decision of the Circuit Court as to the kind of disintegration which was to take place, the common stock rose to as high a price as ever before in the history of the company, with the exception of a single day, \$529 per share. This is the result of more than four years' litigation which cost the independent companies and the American company vast sums of money, and the government as large or larger sums, all of which will ultimately be paid by the public.

Smashing the Northern Securities Company.

(Atwood in McClure's for August, 1912.)

As a fine illustration of the futility of anti-trust legislation Mr. Atwood tells the story of the case against the Northern Securities Company. He says:

"The smashing of the Northern Securities Company seven years ago was the first great attempt to change the face of economic nature by Supreme Court decree. The outcome is well known. Within four months after the decree, the value of the stocks in the two railroads concerned had risen \$150,000,000. A great part of this profit went to the men in the inner group. Since then great holders of this stock have died; their stocks have been willed away. But the entire control of the two railroads still lies exactly where it lay under the Hill-Morgan group of 'insiders.' The individuals changed and will change again. The group remains; the value of the property demands it.

"Since then a variety of other government actions have taken place—all with the same result. The great tobacco company's dissolution, and now the still more spectacular smashing of the Standard Oil, have both come to the same conclusion. The artificial stockholder—the corporation holding other corporation stocks—is killed. By doing this the government has forced the operation of great concerns more and more into the 'inside' group, and made possible the distribution of tens of millions more to the multimillionaires."

(c) REGULATION A FAILURE.

Regulating the Food Trust.

(From "The Truth About Socialism," by Allan L. Benson, pages 170-171.)

Mr. Roosevelt and some others would have you believe that all of these wrongs can be "regulated" into rights. They would have you believe that only "strong" commissions are necessary to make all of these wrongs right. But Mr. Roosevelt and some others do not know what they are talking about. This is not a matter of opinion but a matter of fact. Men have talked as they talk since robbery began. History records no instance of one of them that made good. During all of the years that Mr. Roosevelt was in the White House, he never appointed a commission that was "strong" enough to make good.

We have it upon the authority of no less a man than Dr. Wiley that Mr. Roosevelt's commission to prevent the poisoning of food was not strong enough to make good. The food-poisoning went on.

I mention Mr. Roosevelt's food commission because it is a shining example of what his "strong" commission theory of government can not do. Mr. Roosevelt, unquestionably, is and was opposed to the poisoning of food. He appointed a commission to stop one kind of poisoning. But, for reasons that you, as well as any one else, can surmise, the commission decided in favor of the food-poisoners instead of in favor of the public. Which brings us to this question: If Mr. Roosevelt could not appoint a commission "strong" enough even to prevent the poisoning of food, what reason have you to believe that he or any one else could appoint a commission strong enough to prevent capitalists from robbing workingmen?

Regulation a Failure and a Fraud.

(From "The Failure of Regulation," by Daniel W. Hoan, City Attorney of Milwaukee. This excellent book, the most comprehensive on the subject, can be obtained from the National Office of the Socialist Party for 25 cents.)

Regulation of public service corporations was experimented with for nearly half a century in European countries and abandoned in favor of government ownership long before the reformers and progressives introduced this wonderful remedy into American politics.

In 1878 our nation started out to regulate railroads. We have had the Interstate Commerce Commission at work for thirty-five years. Finding that national regulation did not solve the problem, the states began appointing commissions to regulate the railroads and other utilities.

And of all the state utility laws for the regulation of trusts and corporations the Wisconsin law is regarded as the best. Practically all the reformers agree that Wisconsin has a first class regulation law. It has served as a model for other states.

I take this therefore as the best that regulation can produce and I venture the statement that no shrewder piece of political humbuggery and downright fraud has ever been placed upon the statute books than the Wisconsin Public Utility Law. It is supposed to be legislation for the people. In fact, it is legislation for the moneyed oligarchy.

A FEW ASTONISHING RESULTS.

This famous law and its commission for the regulation of public utilities has produced some astonishing results. We will mention a few:

1. Regulation has raised rates instead of lowering them.

The Manitowoc Gas Company of Manitowoc, Wisconsin,

filed a petition with the commission in April, 1907, asking permission to readjust its rates so that it could sell both fuel and illuminating gas at a uniform rate of \$1 per thousand cubic feet, and to charge 25 cents per month for hire of a meter.

The prayer of the company was heard—and answered.

The commission found that the company had been doing itself a great wrong. It had been charging too little—it should charge much more. In fact, it had been too modest. It had asked only to raise the charge to \$1. It should have asked more.

The commission therefore took compassion on the gas company and not only granted the 25 cents service charge, but ordered a net rate of \$1.25 for the first one thousand feet, \$1.15 for the second thousand and \$1.05 for each additional thousand cubic feet. Thus the commission's rate was from five to 25 cents higher than that requested to be charged by the company.

And this is not an isolated case. There have been many others. Up to 1912 the commission had ordered rates raised for seven private water, gas, electric and street railways, and twenty private telephone companies.

That is the way regulation works in Wisconsin.

2. Regulation has effectually blocked municipal ownership, eliminated competition and otherwise helped the corporations to tighten their grip upon the people.

On January 17, 1908, the private electric light company of Chilton, Wisconsin, ceased to operate its plant entirely. On March 17, the citizens voted two to one in favor of building a municipal plant. August 8, 1908, after the private plant had been idle for almost seven months, the city council, on the assumption that the private company had defaulted entirely and abandoned its rights, repealed the franchise.

Thereupon the private company appeared in court appealing to the famous utility law and actually secured an injunction restraining the city from repealing the ordinance. The case was taken to the highest court in the state, where the claims of the company were upheld.

The citizens of Chilton soon awoke to the fact that the corporation had them by the throat. La Follette's regulation law had not only taken away the city's right to build its own plant so long as the private company was doing business, but it also prevented the dislodgment of the private company until such time as the city got ready to buy it out, bag and baggage, and pay therefor such price as the commission saw fit to fix.

In a similar manner the city of Kenosha discovered that under this utility law it could not even grant a franchise to a competing company. There are many similar situations.

3. IT INCREASES THE DIVIDENDS OF THE CORPORATIONS. It has been shown that the dividends of the railroads have steadily increased under regulation. It also has been shown that the profits of Standard Oil are enormously increased since the famous victory of the government which compelled its dissolution.

Regulation has worked the same way in Wisconsin.

By its order in fixing the gas rates in the Milwaukee Gas Light Company case the Railroad Commission allowed a profit to be made on the value of the plant of approximately ten per cent per annum, not to speak of a depreciation fund approaching two per cent. The United States Supreme Court has decided that six per cent net profit was sufficient return on the investment of a gas plant in a large city. The Wisconsin commission, however, thought it would be more "progressive" to allow ten per cent.

The application of the ruling in this case enables the cor-

poration to draw a dividend of 16 per cent and give it a clear profit of \$1,000,000 per year.

4. It favors large consumers. What would you think if Uncle Sam sold postage stamps to the department stores and banks for less than he sold them to the common man? Now that is exactly what the corporations want.

That's the capitalist theory. And that is the theory sustained and enforced by the Wisconsin public utility law.

The city of Milwaukee owns its own water system. It charges a uniform rate for water, with no special rate for the big fellow.

In May, 1909, twenty-five big manufacturers filed a petition with the commission asking for special rates. In October, 1913, the commission issued a tentative report providing that the old system of uniform water rates to all should be rescinded and new rates substituted therefor, favoring all those who used over one thousand gallons of water every three months. Thus again the fellow who could buy the largest amount of the product, to be used in most instances as a raw material for profits, was to be benefited at the expense of the small consumers, who consumed solely for use.

And this also is a typical case.

5. It helps to keep labor in subjection. In the city of Superior, Wisconsin, in 1912, the street railway company had been dismissing its employes for joining a union, etc. A strike was called. The men offered to go back to work upon recognition by the company of their right to organize. The company refused to grant the demand. The service was at a standstill. An action was instituted in court to compel the company to supply service. Success in this move would have meant victory for the men. The company appealed to La Follette's regulation law. There, sure enough, it was written that all questions of adequate service must be determined by the railroad commission before the same could be taken into the courts. The delay of the courts was bad enough, but to think of first going to the commission was despairing. The lower court refused to hold that the law could be used in such cases. The company appealed to the Supreme Court, where its contention was sustained.

6. Endless delays. Another feature of the Wisconsin experience with regulation that proves its utter futility is the endless delays that occur.

We will cite here just one case that is typical of hundreds.

On July 11, 1907, the city of Milwaukee appealed to the commission for relief from intolerable conditions and a reduction of fares on the street car lines. It took five years, or until September, 1912, to get a decision out of the commission. The decision gave no relief as to the service and only one extra fare for a dollar. And even then they didn't get it.

The "regulation law" provides that the company if dissatisfied with any decision of the commission can appeal to the courts. The company was dissatisfied. It appealed. Another month's delay.

The court, however, sustained the order. The company appealed again. The judgment of the court was stayed. Several more months' delay.

The Supreme Court of the state announced its decision on May 31, 1913. It again sustained the order of the commission and ordered the one little extra fare for a dollar given to the people of Milwaukee.

The company secured a "writ of error" to the United States Supreme Court. And there at present, six years and a half after the case was first brought to the commission, the matter rests. The writer does not believe that the matter can possibly be brought on for argument before May, 1915.

Eight years, or more, to get one case through the mill of this great regulation process and secure for a city of 400,000 population one little measly four-cent street car ticket. And we haven't got it yet.

Such is regulation!

WHY IT FAILS.

There are several reasons why "regulation" fails and always will fail:

1. Regulation involves an inevitable and a never ending conflict between the owners of the corporations and the people. The corporations want dividends; the people want good service, low rates, good wages, etc. The one simply can not be had without cutting into the other. And there you are.

2. Regulation involves a needless duplication of effort and expense. The United States government spends over a million and a half dollars annually for its commission. The state of Wisconsin pays \$200,000 for its state commission, while New York state spends over a million dollars annually.

With these fabulous sums of money wasted in a vain and futile effort to regulate utilities we could buy and pay for and turn over to Uncle Sam all the big trusts in a few years.

3. The task is too great for any commission.

The railroad commission of Wisconsin pretends to regulate forty-three railroads controlling 7,586 miles of trackage, six express companies, several telegraph companies, twenty-eight street railway companies, and in addition thereto 1,164 local utilities.

It is a human impossibility for any commission ever conceived by our "regulation" statesmen to handle such an enormous task without interminable delays. It is certainly impossible to follow up its orders and see that they are enforced.

4. And finally the corporations are sure to strive by every device known to human ingenuity to control and influence the commissioners. In January, 1913, the United States Senate voted to impeach Robert W. Archibald, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, for using his position corruptly in the interests of the railroads. We know something of that sort always happens sooner or later.

How Regulation Works in Washington.

(From "Municipal vs. State Control of Public Utilities," by Prof. J. Allen Smith, Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Washington. National Municipal Review, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1914.)

It is worthy of consideration that this agitation for state control is subsequent to the great popular movement to place municipal government in the hands of the people of our cities. It was not in evidence so long as cities were dominated by political machines subservient to the special interests. Only since municipal democracy has appeared with its insistent demand that the people of our cities shall have the control of franchises in their own hands, has the movement for state control acquired an apparently irresistible force. It has not come as a popular demand from the cities themselves. Indeed, American cities have learned from a rather bitter experience that constant vigilance has been necessary to prevent public utility corporations from foisting upon them through the state government, franchise and other legislation advantageous to such interests, without much regard to the welfare of the people directly concerned. No fact in recent municipal history stands out more clearly than that the state government has failed to protect cities against the abuses of public service corporations

operating within their limits. Not only has the state failed to afford adequate protection, but it has tied the hands of the city in dealing with these corporations, until it is unable to protect itself. This situation has been brought about both by legislative acts and court decisions.

Professor Smith thereupon reviews a number of legislative acts and court decisions which conclusively prove his case. He then continues:

The public service commission bill, as originally introduced, in 1914, in the state of Washington, contained a provision giving the commission control over municipally owned and operated utilities. A determined fight against this feature of the act by cities owning public utilities finally resulted in its elimination. The attempt to put municipally owned utilities under the control of the commission was renewed in the legislature of 1913. The public utility corporations were actively and openly working to bring this about and were supported in this effort by the state public service commission. The plan of the public service commission and the corporations failed again only after strenuous opposition from the cities, and from present indications the effort to deprive cities of the control of their own utilities will be renewed when the legislature meets again. The members of the old commission have since resigned, but two of the former members of that body are publicly supporting the movement which the utility corporations are pushing to take the control of publicly owned utilities out of the hands of the cities. One of the reasons given in support of this proposal is the competition of publicly owned plants. It is not difficult to see that this is indeed the main reason why the corporations are trying to deprive cities of the right to manage their own utilities. Cities like Seattle and Tacoma, owning large and efficient light and power plants, have greatly lessened the cost of light and power to consumers. The competition of public plants has in fact been the only available means of protecting the public against excessive charges for such service. And now that these municipal undertakings are accomplishing what direct regulation has heretofore failed to accomplish, the private corporations thus subjected to indirect but effective municipal regulation are making a persistent attempt to deprive cities of this means of protection.

In view of such facts as those above mentioned, it is not surprising that public service commission control of local utilities should be regarded with some apprehension. Our experience under state commission control has as yet been somewhat limited, but one case may be referred to which shows the possible advantages of the plan to public utility corporations. An application was made to the commission for permission to increase the rates charged by the Independent Telephone Company of Seattle. This proposed increase above the maximum fixed in the franchise granted by the city was opposed by the municipal authorities. The commission authorized the increase in rates and the Supreme Court upheld its decision (*State ex rel. Webster vs. Superior Court*, 67 Wash. 37).

One argument of which much is made by the promoters of state control through a commission, is that such a plan will take the question of public utility control out of politics. It is easy to see that in depriving cities of all power in relation to public utilities, this vitally important matter is in fact taken out of municipal politics. It merely transfers this question, however, to another and larger political arena, the state, and in this arena the public utility corporations by making common cause hope to secure more satisfactory results than is possible through the now democratized municipal governments.

PART III.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM—THE CONCENTRATION OF OWNERSHIP AND ITS EFFECTS

1. Concentration in General.

(a) THE TRUSTS.

(From Moody's "The Truth About the Trusts.")

There are in the United States today (1904) an aggregation of over 440 large industrial, franchise and transportation trusts of an important and active character, with a total floating capital of \$20,379,162,511.

Of 161 important trusts:

78 control 50% or more of their product.

57 control 60% or more of their product.

26 control 80% or more of their product.

All range from 10% to 95%.

I. THE GREATER INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS.

Following are the industrial trusts (this does not include the franchise and transportation trusts) which were known to control over 70 per cent or more of the industry. In case of uncertainty the trust was omitted:

| | No. of concerns acquired or controlled. | Proportion of industry dominated or controlled. | Total approximate capital. |
|----------------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| Copper Trust..... | 11 | | \$ 175,000,000 |
| Smelting Trust.... | 121 | 85% to 95% | 201,550,400 |
| Sugar Ref. Trust. 55 | | 70% to 90% | 145,000,000 |
| Tobacco Trust.... | 150 | (Am.) 90% (For.) | 502,915,700 |
| Merchant Marine. 6 | | 40% to 60% | 170,787,000 |
| Steel Trust..... | 735 | | 1,370,700,000 |
| Standard Oil Trust | 400 | (Export) 90% (Dom.) 84% | 97,000,000 |
| Total | 1,528 | | \$2,662,752,100 |

II. THE SMALLER INDUSTRIAL TRUSTS.

| TRUSTS. | No. of concerns acquired or controlled. | Proportion of industry dominated or controlled | Total approximate capital. |
|----------------------------|---|--|----------------------------|
| Brake-Shoe Trust | 5 | Over 90% | \$ 2,400,000 |
| Tin Can Trust | 123 | 65% to 75% | 15,668,652 |
| Caramel Trust | 3 | 90% | 1,750,000 |
| Chewing Gum Trust | 6 | 85% | 8,400,000 |
| Farming Tool Trust | 13 | 80% | 2,000,000 |
| Pneumatic Tool Trust..... | 7 | 80% | 3,300,000 |
| Glucose Trust | 20 | Large | 26,085,000 |
| Match Trust | 18 | 85% | 19,500,000 |
| Chemical Trust | 24 | 70% | 14,000,000 |
| Fire Brick Trust | 17 | 70% | 7,500,000 |
| Harvester Trust | 6 | 70% | 20,000,000 |
| Steam Pump Trust | 8 | 80% | 14,100,000 |
| Meat Trust | ... | ... | ... |
| Cracker Trust | 80 | 70% | 37,500,000 |
| Carbon Trust | 11 | 87% | 5,675,000 |
| Glassware Trust | 12 | 50% to 70% | 4,000,000 |
| Toy Trust | 18 | 70% | 5,000,000 |
| Pullman Trust | 2 | 85% | 165,000,000 |
| Phonograph Trust | 6 | 80% | 1,800,000 |
| Grass Twine Trust | 8 | Nearly all | 700,000 |
| Ice Trust | 40 | 80% | 8,750,000 |
| Locomotive Trust | 9 | 70% | 25,500,000 |
| Pneumatic Tube Trust..... | 25 | 87% | 2,100,000 |
| Steam Radiator Trust..... | 12 | 80% | 5,650,000 |
| School Furniture Trust.... | 22 | 80% | 5,000,000 |
| Seeding Machine Trust..... | 6 | 90% | 3,500,000 |
| Typefounders' Trust | 34 | 77% | 3,000,000 |
| Condensed Milk Trust..... | 7 | Large | 20,000,000 |

(Continued)

| TRUSTS. | No. of concerns acquired or controlled. | Proportion of industry dominated or controlled. | Total approximate capital. |
|----------------------------|---|---|----------------------------|
| Paper Pattern Trust..... | 6 | 75% | 6,000,000 |
| Milk Sugar Trust | 5 | 70% | 6,500,000 |
| Soil Pipe Trust | 13 | 80% | 2,700,000 |
| Car Springs Trust | 14 | 95% | 13,500,000 |
| Plumbing Supply Trust... | 9 | 80% | 4,300,000 |
| Paper Bag Trust | 10 | Over 80% | 7,400,000 |
| Typewriter Trust | 5 | 75% | 17,500,000 |
| Box Board Trust | 26 | 90% | 4,500,000 |
| Shoe Machinery Trust..... | 12 | Great | 20,000,000 |
| Cast Iron Pipe Trust..... | 9 | 75% | 8,000,000 |
| Gypsum Trust | 35 | 80% | 8,500,000 |
| Leather Trust | 25 | 60% to 70% | 60,000,000 |
| Bobbin and Shuttle Trust.. | 6 | 90% | 1,790,000 |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|--|------------------|
| Total | 3,426 | | \$ 4,055,039,433 |
| Greater industrial trusts... | 1,528 | | 2,662,752,100 |

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------|--|------------------|
| Grand total | 4,954 | | \$ 6,737,791,533 |
|-------------------|-------|--|------------------|

| | No. of plants acquired or controlled. | Capital. |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Greater industrial trusts | 3,426 1,528 | \$ 4,055,039,433 2,662,752,100 |
| Grand total | 4,954 | \$ 6,737,791,533 |

III—FRANCHISE TRUSTS.

| | | |
|---|-------|------------------|
| Eight important telephone and telegraph trusts | 136 | \$ 629,700,500 |
| 103 important gas, electric light and street railway consolidations | 1,200 | 3,105,775,571 |
| Total 111 franchise trusts..... | 1,336 | \$ 3,735,456,071 |

IV—STEAM RAILWAY GROUPS.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|------------------|
| Vanderbilt Group | 132 | \$ 1,169,196,132 |
| Pennsylvania Railway Group | 280 | 1,822,402,235 |
| Morgan Group | 225 | 2,265,116,350 |
| Gould-Rockefeller Group | 109 | 1,368,877,540 |
| Harriman-Kuhn-Loeb Group | 85 | 1,321,248,711 |
| Moore Group | 91 | 1,070,250,939 |
| Total Greater Railway Groups..... | 922 | \$ 9,017,091,907 |
| Smaller Railway Groups | 250 | 380,277,000 |
| Total Railway Groups | 1,172 | \$ 9,397,368,907 |

SUMMARY.

| | | |
|--|-------|------------------|
| Greater Industrial Trusts | 1,528 | \$ 2,662,752,100 |
| Lesser Industrial Trusts | 3,426 | 4,055,039,433 |
| Industrial Trusts being reorganized | 334 | 528,551,000 |
| Franchise | 1,336 | 3,735,456,071 |
| Railway Groups | 1,172 | 9,397,368,907 |
| Grand total | 7,796 | \$20,379,167,511 |

(b) METHODS OF CONCENTRATION.

(From "Concentration and Control," a Solution of the Trust Problem in the United States. Charles R. Van Hise. Pages 60, 61, 64, 68, 69, 70. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

The different kinds of associations and combinations may be roughly classified as follows:

(1) **Informal or Formal Associations for the General Protection or Advancement of a Business.**—These are illustrated by the various business associations. Almost every industry has such an association, and some of them many. Thus there are associations of brewers, butchers, bankers, hardware men, lumbermen, cattlemen, fruit growers, wine makers, butter makers, and of practically every producing industry. Similarly there are associations of salesmen, wholesalers and retailers in each of the various industries, whether they be hardware, drugs, dry goods, or groceries. These sales associations may be national, state, or local, or they may be national with state and local branches. The importance of the local associations depends upon the size of the town.

(2) **Formal Agreements.**—In certain lines of business corporations have made definite agreements about the manage-

ment of the business of the uniting parties. The arrangements, usually called pools, (1) divided the production in a definite manner between the different companies; (2) divided the markets; (3) regulated the sales for the home market, perhaps leaving freedom in the matter of export; or (4) placed the entire profits in a common fund or pool to be divided according to an agreed plan. With the foregoing features there sometimes went agreements as to prices; but this was not essential, since when controlling outputs, dividing markets, regulating sales and apportioning profits, it is to the interest of all to keep prices at a high level.

The non-enforcible agreement gave the pools a fundamental weakness. Any member that became dissatisfied could withdraw at any time. Also, since the courts refused to enforce the arrangements made under pools, compliance with the regulations depended exclusively upon the honor of those entering them; and, in consequence, there were frequent secret violations of the pool agreements.

(3) **Trusts.**—Since the pool was a failure, in order to attain the objects striven for by it, the trust was devised: Under the trust, each unit of the combination transferred its stock to trustees. Thus the entire stock of the constituent companies was held by a group of trustees who had complete authority over the business of all the companies entering into the trust. An establishment or company retained its own officers and conducted its business, but under the direction of the trustees, as to line of product, amount of output and price. The trust was able to prevent over-building and over-production, to prevent competition in price between its units, to apportion business, to consolidate buying and selling, and thus gave all the advantages of unity of organization due to concentration of industry. Well-known types of this organization were the Standard Oil trust, the sugar trust, the cottonseed oil trust, the whisky trust. The great period of the trust was from 1888 to 1897.

(4) **Holding Corporations.**—Under the trust each of the constituent companies was an independent legal entity. The stock was simply placed in the hands of the trustee for management. In the holding corporation the stock is transferred to the holding concern, so that this corporation actually owns the stock of the constituent companies. So far as management and operation are concerned, the situation is precisely the same as under the trust and the advantages the same, only the constituent companies are subsidiary companies instead of nominally independent. The subsidiary company maintains its officers, carries on its business and competes, so far as efficiency is concerned, with the other companies of the combination; but as to nature and quantity of output and price, the policy is completely controlled by the corporation of which it is a constituent member. The era of the holding corporation began in the nineties, and has extended through that decade and the first decade of the twentieth century. Great examples are the Standard Oil Company and the United States Steel Corporation.

(5) **Complete Merger.**—This is the final stage in concentration of management. The stock of the constituent companies of the combination is actually bought in and canceled, the only stock being that of the master company. If, for instance, the different companies of the United States Steel Corporation—the Federal Steel, the Carnegie Steel, and others—cease to exist by their stock being canceled, and stock of the Steel Corporation be the only existing issue, we should have the final stage of corporation management for this gigantic company.

Since the recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court (see pp. 180-181), which seem to indicate that holding companies will be in a stronger position if they are actually manufacturing

companies, it is easy to predict that the great consolidations, now forming, so far as practicable will become unified corporations. The merger began to become important about 1904, and since that time its growth has steadily continued, although, as already pointed out, the holding company is still the dominant form of concentration.

(c) DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

Based on the Census of 1910.

By Lucien Sanial.

| CLASS. | No. individuals occupied. | Per cent of total. | Wealth of class. | Per cent total wealth. |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| Plutocratic | 250,251 | 0.9 | \$67,000,000,000 | 70.5 |
| Middle | 8,429,845 | 29.0 | 24,000,000,000 | 25.3 |
| Proletarian | 20,393,137 | 70.1 | 4,000,000,000 | 4.2 |
| Totals | 29,073,233 | 100.0 | \$95,000,000,000 | 100.0 |

(d) GREAT FORTUNES AND BIG INCOMES.

(From "We Must Regulate Great Fortunes," by Richard Caverly, in the San Francisco Labor Clarion, Aug. 29, 1913.)

"There are in the United States about 18,000,000 families.

The privately owned wealth of the nation is estimated at \$115,000,000,000. Two families have half a billion each; four families have \$192,000,000 each; eight families are rated at \$96,000,000; 28 at \$48,000,000; 95 at \$24,000,000; 285 at \$12,000,000; 770 at \$6,000,000; 1,925 at \$3,000,000; 4,620 at \$1,500,000. In those nine groups at 7,737 families, with a total wealth of \$26,905,000. Next come 10,500 families with \$750,000; 23,000 with \$375,000; 48,000 with \$187,500, and 100,000 with an average of \$93,750."

In Pearson's Magazine for November, 1913, p. 636, is given the following table of incomes, derived from statistics gathered by the United States Treasury:

20 people in the United States have incomes of \$10,000,000 and over.

100 have incomes of \$1,000,000 to \$10,000,000.

500 have incomes of \$500,000 to \$1,000,000.

2,000 have incomes of \$100,000 to \$500,000.

10,000 have incomes of \$50,000 to \$100,000.

21,000 have incomes of \$30,000 to \$50,000.

75,000 have incomes of \$20,000 to \$30,000.

100,000 have incomes of \$10,000 to \$20,000.

200,000 have incomes of \$5,000 to \$10,000.

5,000,000 have incomes of \$1,000 to \$5,000.

(e) AMERICA RULED BY A HANDFUL OF MEN.

(From a Speech against the Aldrich Bill, March 24, 1908, by Senator La Follette in the Senate.)

After describing the manner in which trust magnates control the business of America, Mr. Pratt (editor of the Wall Street Journal, in an article in the World's Work, entitled "Our Financial Oligarchy") submits a list of seventy-six men, and denominates them "our business rulers." He states that these seventy-six men were, at that time, holding, in round numbers, sixteen hundred directorships in the trusts and combinations of the country. * * * He says further:

"Mr. John Moody estimates that the trust power of the United States is \$20,379,000,000. These (76) men control that power, and more. They are also the dominant influences in the banks and trust companies having deposits of \$10,000,000,000 and a capital investment of \$2,750,000,000. An analysis of their power will show that fully 10 of the greatest railroad, industrial and banking corporations, with a capitalization equal to

more than one-fifth of the nation's wealth, are controlled by them.

"Here are the more important of the interests which they either control or in which they are very influential:

"Interests Controlled.—Banking, iron and steel, coal, gas, electric light, shipping, oil, beef, insurance, copper, cotton, hardware, real estate, dry goods, agricultural implements, railroads, telegraph, cable, telephone, traction, express, mining, sugar, tobacco, coffee, wool, machinery, building, paper, and food products."

As illustrating the centralization of railroad control, the author cites eight men, who control two-thirds of the railway mileage of the country, and nine billion of the thirteen billions of railroad capitalization as it then stood. The men named were: J. Pierpont Morgan, A. J. Cassatt, J. J. Hill, E. H. Harriman, G. J. Gould, W. K. Vanderbilt, W. H. Moore and Wm. Rockefeller. Of these eight men he says further:

"They control the coal trade also, and their influence extends over the express companies and through many industrial corporations. As masters of the railroads they have a taxing power—the prices charged for transportation can be so termed—equal to the taxing power of Congress, and the gross income of the railroads is nearly 2,000 million a year, as compared with the Federal Government revenues of about 700 million."

In naming the men who controlled the trust power of this country in 1905, Mr. Pratt cited Mr. John Moody as to the magnitude of this power. John Moody is the author of publications which are consulted every hour of the day in Wall Street as a guide to investors in railroad, industrial and other securities. * * * Mr. Moody's work, from which Mr. Pratt quoted, gave the statistics as of January 1, 1904. Since that time an enormous increase in consolidation has taken place. * * * Mr. Moody has prepared a revision of these statistics, bringing the figures down to January 1, 1908. * * * I present the figures for 1904 and 1908 in parallel columns:

| Classifications. | No. of plants acquired or controlled. | | Total capitalization stocks and bonds outstanding. | |
|---|---|--------|---|------------------|
| | 1904. | 1908. | 1904. | 1908. |
| Seven greater industrial trusts | 1,528 | 1,638 | \$ 2,662,752,100 | \$ 2,708,438,754 |
| Lesser industrial trusts | 3,426 | 5,038 | 4,055,039,433 | 8,243,175,000 |
| Important industrial trusts in reorganization | 282 | .... | 528,551,000 | ..... |
| Total important industrial trusts | 5,288 | 6,676 | \$ 7,246,342,533 | \$10,951,613,754 |
| Franchise trusts | 1,336 | 2,599 | 3,735,456,071 | 7,789,393,000 |
| Great railroad groups | 1,040 | .... | 9,397,363,907 | 12,931,154,000 |
| | 8,644 | 10,020 | \$20,379,162,511 | \$31,672,160,754 |

This table shows an increase in trust consolidation almost beyond human comprehension. It shows that in these four years the trust capitalization was increased by these few men in control of the big business of the country more than \$11,000,000,000, or more than 55 per cent. This, \$31,000,000,000 of industrial, franchise and transportation in 1908 does not represent all the corporate power in the hands of the Standard Oil-Morgan combination. It does not include their financial consolidations—their banks, trust companies, and insurance companies.

Along with this enormous increase in trust power has gone a steady process of centralization in the control of that power, until now the entire situation is dominated by the Standard Oil-Morgan combination. Mr. Pratt named sixty-seven men. When you begin the process of elimination, to reach the real source, the true fountain head of control over the business

life of the people of this country, you come down, sir, to two names:

Standard Oil and Morgan.

All feuds between these two great powers have been put aside. Mr. Morgan's picture hangs on the wall of the inner room of the Rockefellers at 26 Broadway. In combination of today they are steadily absorbing the smaller powers: Mr. Hill has been taught that he must not oppose the big ones. The Gould interests are being swallowed by the combine. Morse and Heinze were neatly pocketed during the recent panic. The smelter trust was given a drubbing and started in the same direction. The Vanderbilts cannot long retain their important control, and themselves see the handwriting on the wall.

In the list of men who may still be said to be in control of the country's business, there are only fourteen who can treat with the Standard Oil-Morgan combine on anything even remotely approaching a footing. * * *

Mr. President, any man with intelligence who sees the same names repeated over and over again on the various directorates which, in a national sense, dominate the great industries of this country, will understand how the important business interests are in fact welded and fused together into one mass under one control.

[The names of the fourteen men referred to above were cited by Mr. La Follette as follows: W. K. Vanderbilt, George J. Gould, John J. Astor, August Belmont, Jacob Schiff, James Spyer, Frederick Weyerhauser, E. H. Harriman, J. J. Hill, Henry C. Frick, Thomas F. Ryan, W. H. Moore, J. Ogden Armour and Louis F. Swift.]

The Septemvirate of Industry.

(From an article by John Moody and George Kibbe Turner in McClure's Magazine, August, 1911.)

Seven men in Wall Street now control a great share of the fundamental industries and resources of the United States. Every year they and their successors will control more. They dominate, with their allies and dependents, the national machinery for the making and holding of great corporate monopolies, into which a greater and greater part of the capital and business of the country must inevitably be drawn.

Three of these seven men—J. Pierpont Morgan, James J. Hill and George F. Baker, head of the First National Bank of New York—belong to the so-called Morgan group; four of them—John D. and William Rockefeller, James Stillman, head of the National City Bank, and Jacob H. Schiff, of the private banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.—to the so-called Standard Oil-City-Bank group.

It is impossible to express in exact terms the ownership or control of the seven men and their allies in American industry. But a rough expression of the percentage of their control of the various greatest operations and resources of the country follows. The percentages, where not otherwise indicated, are calculated from the figures of capitalization appearing in Poor's and Moody's Manuals:

Percentage of Industries and Resources Controlled.

| | Central Group. | Alli- ances. | Out- side. |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Railroads | 61 | 25 | 14 |
| Express and Pullman | 93½ | .. | 6½ |
| Anthracte Coal (supply owned)..... | 88½ | 6½ | 5 |
| Steel | 82 | 5 | 13 |
| Cement (output) | 33½ | .. | 66½ |
| Petroleum (output handled) | 67 | 18 | 15 |
| Lead (output) | .. | 60 | 40 |
| Copper (output) | .. | 60 | 40 |
| Telephone | 74 | .. | 26 |

According to the figures in Poor's Manual of Railroads for 1910, the securities of railroad companies actually in the hands of investors amount to nearly fifteen billion dollars. The market value of these, calculated on the prices of January, 1911, was about fourteen and a half billion. About sixty per cent of the railroads represented by these securities was under the direct and permanent control of the seven men and their nearest allies. About twenty-five per cent more is under a partial but still sufficient control. The remaining fifteen per cent of the railroads is made up of a few weak systems and small unrelated scraps of road. A detailed statement of this control follows:

| | Capital. | Per- cent- age. | Market value, Jan., 1911. | Per- cent- age. |
|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Central group | \$ 9,080,853,307 | 61 | \$ 9,562,523,976 | 66 |
| Central group alliances. | 3,782,304,488 | 25 | 3,695,343,016 | 25 |
| Other Wall Street groups | 1,013,340,000 | 7 | 839,810,000 | 6 |
| Outside interests | 1,013,299,465 | 7 | 360,000,000 | 3 |
| Total | \$14,889,797,260 | 100 | \$14,457,676,992 | 100 |

Central group.—Union Pacific, Southern Pacific, Illinois Central, Hill roads, St. Paul, New York Central, New Haven, Erie, Reading, Southern, Rock Island, Atlantic Coast Line, etc.

Alliances.—Pennsylvania, Baltimore & Ohio, Atchison, Gould lines.

Other Wall Street groups.—Hawley roads, Yoakum-Hawley roads.

2. Concentration in the Ownership of Natural Resources.

(a) CONCENTRATION IN THE OWNERSHIP OF LAND.

Public Domain Donated to Railroads.—(From a speech by Senator La Follette at Springfield, Ill., January 5, 1912. Chicago Tribune, January 6.)

Originally the public domain of the United States amounted in round numbers of 1,800,000,000 acres. Of this amount nearly all of the original domain available for agriculture and the greater part of our mineral wealth outside of Alaska have been disposed of, amounting in round numbers to more than 700,000,000 acres.

Out of the 571,000,000 acres disposed of to individuals and corporations, there have been acquired through the exercise of the homestead right only 115,000,000 acres. The railroads and other corporations had bestowed upon them by congressional grants, without any return whatever to the government, in round numbers 123,000,000 acres.

In addition to that, there has been conferred upon the railroads by state grants land theretofore granted by the federal government to the several states, increasing the total grant to the railroads, in round numbers, to 200,000,000 acres of land, enough to make the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Iowa and Wisconsin.

Railroad Grants.—(From "Who Owns the Earth?" by Henry M. Hyde in Technical World Magazine for January, 1909.)

Up to twelve years ago Congress had given away the public domain to railroad and other corporations to the extent of 266,000,000 acres, a bit of territory not far in extent from the total area of France and Germany, two countries which support between them a population much greater than the whole population of the United States when the last census was taken.

Less than one hundred years ago the public lands of the United States embraced one billion eight hundred million acres. More than one-tenth of the whole—and this of the choicest—was granted off-hand to railroads and other corporations. Eighty million acres went in grants to agricultural and other

schools and colleges. More than six million acres were disposed of by the gift of soldiers' scrip—a large part of which was bought up for little or nothing by capitalists—and seventy millions were given back to several states as swamp land.

The total of 775,000,000 now in the public domain looks impressive. But 370,000,000 acres of this is in Alaska, which is not likely to be homesteaded for several years. Much of the remainder is permanently locked up in government forest reservations, national parks and other reserves, and there are also thousands of square miles of mountains and deserts which neither irrigation nor improved dry farming will ever bring under the plow.

The total gifts of the public to railways by municipalities, states and nation cannot be accurately stated, but it is known that the national land grants alone have aggregated more than 215,000,000 acres, an area far exceeding the whole New England and the Middle States, much of it in the finest and most fertile regions of the United States. * * *

The railroad grants in Minnesota would make two states the size of Massachusetts, one of which was donated to the promoters of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. In Kansas the railroad grants would make the two states of Connecticut and New Jersey. In Iowa the area granted is larger than Connecticut and Rhode Island. In Michigan and Wisconsin also the railway pasture is nearly as large. In Montana the grants to one company would equal the whole of Maryland, New Jersey and Massachusetts. In Washington also the grants are about equivalent to the same three states, and three states the size of New Hampshire could be carved out of the railway grants in California. The Union Pacific alone obtained 13,000,000 acres, the Kansas Pacific 12,100,100, the Northern Pacific 47,000,000, the Atlantic & Pacific 42,000,000, and the Southern Pacific 9,520,000 acres.

The total area given by act of Congress to western roads is nearly as large as the whole extent of the original thirteen states. It is larger than the German Empire and Italy combined; larger than the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Switzerland, Denmark and the Netherlands; larger than France, Great Britain and Belgium.

These lands are worth a good deal more than the whole cost of the railroads, to say nothing of the gifts to the companies by towns, cities and states. If the public had kept its lands and built the railroads itself, with funds raised by the issue of bonds, or with money raised by progressive taxation, the rents from the lands and the profits from the railways would have paid for them and rates would now be down about to the cost of operation.

Absentee Landlordism.—(Henry M. Hyde in the World Magazine, New York, for January, 1909, and compiled from cyclopedia.)

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Duke of Bedford | 51,085 |
| Earl of Brownlow | 57,700 |
| Earl of Carlisle | 78,540 |
| Earl of Cawdor | 51,538 |
| Earl of Cleveland | 106,650 |
| Earl of Derby | 56,698 |
| Duke of Devonshire | 148,626 |
| Lord of Londonboro | 52,655 |
| Duke of Northumberland | 191,460 |
| Duke of Portland | 55,259 |
| Earl of Powls | 46,059 |
| Duke of Rutland | 70,039 |
| Lady Willowsly | 59,424 |
| No. of | |
| Name. | acs. owned. |
| Sir W. W. Winn | 91,612 |
| Earl of Yarborough | 54,570 |
| Baron Tweeddale | 1,750,000 |
| Byron H. Evans, London | 700,000 |
| Duke of Southerland | 422,000 |

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| W. Wheelley, M. P..... | 310,000 |
| Robert Terrant | 530,000 |
| Lord Denmore | 120,000 |
| Benjamin Neugos, Liverpool..... | 100,000 |
| M. Ellerhausen, Halifax | 600,000 |
| Lord Houghton | 60,000 |
| Lord Dunraven | 60,000 |
| A. Peal, M. P..... | 10,000 |
| Alexander Grant, London..... | 35,000 |
| Lord Scully, estate in Missouri | 500,000 |
| English Syndicate No. 3 in Texas..... | 3,000,000 |
| The Holland Land Company, New Mexico..... | 4,500,000 |
| Sir Edward Reid and Syndicate, Florida..... | 2,000,000 |
| English Syndicate in Mississippi | 1,500,000 |
| Marquis of Tuesdale | 1,700,000 |
| Phillips Marshall & Co., London..... | 1,300,000 |
| German-American Syndicate, London..... | 750,000 |
| British Land Company in Kansas..... | 320,000 |
| Missouri Land Company, Edinburgh..... | 300,000 |
| Robert Tenent, London | 230,000 |
| Dundee Land Company, Scotland | 247,000 |
| English Land Company in Florida | 50,000 |
| Sir J. L. Kay, England..... | 5,000 |
| English Syndicate in Wisconsin | 110,000 |
| Scotch Syndicate in Florida | 500,000 |
| A. Boysen, Denmark | 50,000 |
| Total | 22,910,748 |

Landed Estates.—(From "Who Owns the Earth?" by Henry M. Hyde in Technical World Magazine of January, 1909.)

Henry Miller, a single American land-owner, is lord of the land over an area two-thirds as large as the whole of the Emerald Isle.

Col. D. C. Murphy of New York state held title when he died to more than 4,000,000 acres of farm lands. The late Senator Farwell, of Illinois, his brother, and one or two other men, owned three million acres in Texas. Mrs. Virginia Ann King, of Greenville, Texas, owns so much land in one great ranch that it is a drive of nearly fifty miles from the porch of her manor house to the front gate of her door yard.

Samuel W. Allerton, of Chicago, owns more than 40,000 acres of improved farm land in the great central states of Ohio, Iowa and Illinois.

Henry Miller owns and controls fourteen million four hundred thousand acres of rich and fertile land—22,500 square miles—equal in round numbers to the aggregate area of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island.

One hundred men hold title to 17,000,000 acres in the valley of Sacramento alone.

The recently organized trusts have gotten control of vast tracts of the most valuable land in the country. The Standard Oil Company counts among its assets more than a million acres of oil lands. The Steel Trust, on authority of Charles M. Schwab, holds in one tract coke lands valued at \$60,000,000, and the United States Leather Company boasts title to 500,000 acres of hemlock timber. The lumber companies dominated by Frederick Weyerhaeuser, of St. Paul, own and control timber areas covering in the aggregate more than 30,000,000 acres, or almost all the amount of territory included in the state of Wisconsin.

In 1870 there were only 3,400 farms in the United States that embraced more than 1,000 acres each. In 1880 this had been multiplied by nine—nearly 30,000. In 1900 the number of farms containing more than 1,000 acres had jumped to nearly 50,000, an increase of nearly 66 per cent.

In 1880 twenty-five out of every hundred farmers in the United States were tenant farmers, owning no land of their own, working for a landlord on shares, or paying rental in some way. Twenty years later the total number of farmers had increased by more than a million, but the number of tenant farmers had increased even more rapidly. In 1900 more than thirty-five and a half out of every hundred were working land

that belonged to somebody else—and that in a country where fifty years ago the refrain of a popular song ran:

"Come along, come along, don't you take alarm,
For Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm."

Mortgaged Farms on the Increase.

According to the United States Census the number of farms and farm homes owned free and owned but mortgaged for the last three censuses, is as follows:

| Year. | Owners free. | Owners mortgaged. | Per cent mortgaged. |
|------------|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1890 | 2,255,789 | 886,957 | 28.2 |
| 1900 | 2,511,101 | 1,127,302 | 31.1 |
| 1910 | 2,621,073 | 1,327,649 | 33.6 |

The percentages of free and of mortgaged owners by sections and states are as follows:

| | PER CENT OF TOTAL. | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|------|------|----------------------|------|------|
| | Owners free. | | | Owners mortgaged. | | |
| | 1910 | 1900 | 1890 | 1910 | 1900 | 1890 |
| New England | 66.4 | 68.9 | 71.8 | 33.6 | 31.1 | 28.2 |
| Maine | 65.1 | 65.9 | 71.7 | 34.9 | 34.1 | 28.3 |
| New Hampshire..... | 73.4 | 73.3 | 77.9 | 26.9 | 26.7 | 22.1 |
| Vermont | 74.4 | 74.5 | 78.2 | 25.6 | 25.5 | 21.8 |
| Massachusetts | 53.1 | 53.1 | 55.7 | 46.9 | 46.9 | 44.3 |
| Rhode Island | 59.1 | 61.4 | 69.5 | 40.9 | 38.6 | 30.5 |
| Connecticut | 70.4 | 72.9 | 80.9 | 29.6 | 27.1 | 19.1 |
| Middle Atlantic | 56.8 | 59.3 | 68.9 | 43.2 | 40.7 | 31.1 |
| New York | 61.7 | 59.7 | 63.0 | 38.3 | 40.3 | 37.0 |
| New Jersey | 56.3 | 53.7 | 55.8 | 43.7 | 46.3 | 44.2 |
| Pennsylvania | 50.4 | 48.1 | 51.1 | 49.6 | 51.9 | 48.9 |
| East North Central..... | 68.9 | 67.7 | 72.6 | 31.1 | 32.3 | 27.4 |
| Ohio | 59.1 | 60.6 | 62.4 | 40.9 | 39.4 | 37.6 |
| Indiana | 71.1 | 70.2 | 71.1 | 28.9 | 29.8 | 28.9 |
| Illinois | 61.2 | 63.5 | 66.9 | 38.8 | 36.5 | 33.1 |
| Michigan | 60.8 | 60.7 | 63.3 | 39.2 | 39.3 | 36.7 |
| Wisconsin | 51.8 | 51.7 | 50.6 | 48.2 | 48.3 | 49.4 |
| West North Central | 48.6 | 54.2 | 57.1 | 51.4 | 45.8 | 42.9 |
| Minnesota | 53.9 | 55.7 | 52.0 | 46.1 | 44.3 | 48.0 |
| Iowa | 53.7 | 55.2 | 53.6 | 46.3 | 44.8 | 46.4 |
| Missouri | 48.2 | 47.0 | 46.7 | 51.8 | 53.0 | 53.3 |
| North Dakota | 53.7 | 57.6 | 63.6 | 46.3 | 42.4 | 36.4 |
| South Dakota | 49.1 | 68.6 | 51.3 | 50.9 | 31.4 | 48.7 |
| Nebraska | 61.8 | 63.3 | 47.6 | 38.2 | 36.7 | 52.4 |
| Kansas | 60.6 | 54.6 | 48.0 | 39.4 | 45.4 | 52.0 |
| South Atlantic | 55.2 | 58.2 | 44.5 | 44.8 | 41.8 | 55.5 |
| Delaware | 81.2 | 83.2 | 92.6 | 18.8 | 16.8 | 7.4 |
| Maryland | 62.8 | 63.5 | 70.6 | 37.2 | 36.5 | 29.4 |
| District of Columbia... | 63.5 | 63.2 | 70.0 | 36.5 | 36.8 | 30.0 |
| Virginia | 81.6 | 81.1 | 95.9 | 18.4 | 18.9 | 4.1 |
| West Virginia | 84.0 | 85.3 | 96.8 | 16.0 | 14.7 | 3.2 |
| North Carolina | 87.4 | 85.9 | 87.0 | 12.6 | 14.1 | 13.0 |
| South Carolina | 81.5 | 84.2 | 95.1 | 18.5 | 15.8 | 4.9 |
| Georgia | 76.0 | 79.4 | 92.0 | 24.0 | 20.6 | 8.0 |
| Florida | 81.0 | 85.3 | 96.6 | 19.0 | 14.7 | 3.4 |
| East South Central..... | 85.2 | 89.7 | 97.1 | 14.8 | 10.3 | 2.9 |
| Kentucky | 77.3 | 83.0 | 95.5 | 22.7 | 17.0 | 4.5 |
| Tennessee | 80.4 | 84.8 | 95.9 | 19.6 | 15.2 | 4.1 |
| Alabama | 83.1 | 88.5 | 96.8 | 16.9 | 11.5 | 3.2 |
| Mississippi | 73.1 | 80.8 | 95.6 | 26.9 | 19.2 | 4.4 |
| West South Central | 67.1 | 72.9 | 92.3 | 32.9 | 27.1 | 7.7 |
| Arkansas | 69.4 | 81.8 | 95.2 | 30.6 | 18.2 | 4.8 |
| Louisiana | 78.6 | 85.7 | 95.8 | 21.4 | 14.3 | 4.2 |
| Oklahoma | 81.0 | 82.3 | 96.0 | 19.0 | 17.7 | 4.0 |
| Texas | 56.5 | 90.8 | .... | 43.5 | 9.2 | .... |
| Mountain | 66.7 | 76.6 | 94.3 | 33.3 | 23.4 | 5.7 |
| Montana | 79.2 | 85.6 | 85.9 | 20.8 | 14.4 | 14.1 |
| Idaho | 78.9 | 86.0 | 84.4 | 21.1 | 14.0 | 15.6 |
| Wyoming | 66.6 | 83.6 | 83.7 | 33.4 | 16.4 | 16.3 |
| Colorado | 80.3 | 87.8 | 87.0 | 19.7 | 12.2 | 13.0 |
| New Mexico | 73.6 | 73.0 | 74.5 | 26.4 | 27.0 | 25.5 |
| Arizona | 94.6 | 97.7 | 97.0 | 5.4 | 2.3 | 3.0 |
| Utah | 87.1 | 94.0 | 93.2 | 12.9 | 6.0 | 6.8 |
| Nevada | 77.1 | 88.9 | 94.5 | 22.9 | 11.1 | 5.5 |
| Pacific | 83.3 | 80.7 | 82.8 | 16.7 | 19.3 | 17.2 |
| Washington | 63.2 | 72.4 | 71.3 | 36.8 | 27.6 | 28.7 |
| Oregon | 65.9 | 78.3 | 73.2 | 34.1 | 21.7 | 26.8 |
| California | 66.3 | 74.8 | 76.6 | 33.7 | 25.2 | 23.4 |
| | 59.5 | 67.8 | 67.5 | 40.5 | 32.2 | 32.5 |

Note—Owned farms and farm homes with no mortgage report are distributed between "owners free" and "owners mortgaged."

Recent Tendencies in Agricultural Concentration.

By A. M. Simons.

Present day American agriculture has grown directly out of conditions most of which originated in the years directly after the Civil War. At this time the most extensive effort

ever tried in any country was made to maintain a race of small farmers. In the twenty years following 1860, sixty-five million acres of land was distributed by the national government in small farms. A much larger amount was given to the railroads during this same period, and a large portion of this was also distributed to small farmers.

In the South the great plantations were divided up by the destruction of the system of chattel slavery into hundreds of thousands more small farms.

In the intense competition for production of agricultural products that followed, the income of the farmer, like that of the wage worker, was reduced to the point which would sustain life and permit a continuance of the race of farmers. The remainder went to the transportation, storage and marketing companies that control the farmer's product in its later stages.

By 1890 there were no more farms to be distributed, save in isolated localities or after the expenditure of large sums for drainage or irrigation. These were not numerous enough or in sufficiently active connection with agriculture as a whole to act as an outlet for the farmers who were being crowded from the land in the older localities.

The twenty years since 1890 has seen the transformation of those conditions that have served to distinguish agriculture from factory industry. It has seen the element of chance largely eliminated. Agricultural invention, improved machinery and better breeding of plants and animals have not only greatly increased the product, but have brought conditions of production to a point where they much more closely approximate those existing in the mill, mine and factory.

The disappearance of free land has shown itself most strikingly in the tremendous increase in the cost of this fundamental instrument of production in agriculture.

In the 200 years in which the continent was conquered, prairie sod turned, forests cleared, millions of farm homes and other buildings erected and during which, in fact, more labor was applied to land than at any previous time in the history of the world, the total value of all land reached only a little over thirteen billion dollars. In the last ten years, when less new land was brought under cultivation than at any period in the last half century, the value added to the land was over fifteen billion dollars.

This great increase in farm values has been most marked shows how agriculture is concentrating in certain localities.

In a few special sections and is only a part of a movement that

In the states touched by a circle with a 500-mile radius and Chicago as its center, there is already located 57.7 per cent of the value of all farm property, 60.7 per cent of the value of all farm land, 51.3 per cent of the value of all live stock and 68 per cent of the value of all cereals is produced. It was just in this territory that the value of this land increased most rapidly, over 60 per cent of the total increase in the last ten years, being in the states touched by such a circle.

Even more important is the fact that in this territory the number of farms decreased by over 30,000 in the last ten years. Here where industry is most profitable; here where land is increasing most rapidly in value; here where the product is greatest; here the children of the farmers are being driven from the farms and the number of opportunities for new openings in agriculture are growing constantly less. In the five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Iowa, which form the heart of this territory, the most important agricultural section of the United States, the population in rural localities absolutely declined, and this decline in farms was in those operated by owners. There are 10,000 less farms oper-

ated by owners in Iowa than there were in 1900; 8,000 less in Indiana, and 13,000 less in Illinois.

In 1880, 69 per cent of the farms of Illinois were operated by owners and 31 per cent by tenants; in 1910 41 per cent were operated by tenants and but 59 per cent of the farmers owned the land upon which they worked.

In the counties in which the value of land and product is greatest, this percentage runs much higher.

This increase in tenantry in proportion to the value of the product and to the perfection of agriculture is even more strikingly seen in the only other section of the country that can rival this one in importance.

In the cotton section, wherever we find a high production of cotton, we find a high ratio of tenantry. In Texas 55 per cent of the farms are now operated by tenants; in Mississippi and Georgia, 66 per cent; South Carolina, 63 per cent; in Louisiana and Oklahoma, 55 per cent, and everywhere this percentage is swiftly increasing.

When the counties in which the production of cotton is greatest are studied, this percentage rises to a far higher point. In the six leading cotton counties of Georgia, the percentage of the land tilled by tenants varies from 73 per cent to 85 per cent; in the six leading cotton counties of South Carolina, between 66 and 80 per cent of the farms are rented. Mississippi furnishes a most striking example of this kind of evolution. Its alluvial bottoms are the greatest cotton-producing country in the world. There are eight counties here where the average value of the land in farms is more than \$25 per acre. In this section, which represents the very apex of cotton cultivation, 89 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants in 1900 and 92 per cent in 1910.

But in both the North and the South, a new force is coming in to hasten every one of the tendencies that have been noted. In every industry, so long as the principal operation had to be performed by either man or animal power, any high development of concentrated ownership and of capitalist exploitation was impossible. In farming the great task has been the turning of the soil, and hitherto this has been done by animal power. Now the farm tractor has come, driven by kerosene or gasoline or steam to do this work, and is bringing the same revolution there that the application of the explosive engine has brought in transportation. Although these tractors are of very recent introduction, yet they are already accomplishing a revolution. Their great expense places them far beyond the reach of the renter or even the small farm owner, even if the latter were able to use them economically on his small acres. These machines will be operated by mechanics—not by farmers, when necessary; and for mechanics the entire labor supply, trained in mines and mills and factories, will be available.

In cotton production a similar mechanical revolution is taking place. Here the great task is that of picking, and already mechanical cotton pickers are being introduced that do the work of from sixteen to twenty men.

In market gardening a similar transformation is taking place. Here glass covered farms with heat and water and light, controlled artificially, are so expensive as to be as completely beyond the reach of those who work in them as the great factories in which thousands of wage workers toil.

To sum up, the disappearance of free land and the swift rise in farm values is placing the land out of the reach of the small farmer. The race of tenants is increasing. The farm tractor, the cotton picker, the mechanical milker, the great inventions now in use in the production of vegetables near cities, all these are tending to create a condition in which the worker on the

farm will be as completely separated from the instrument with which he works as is the worker in the factory.

It is not the Socialist or the working class who are taking the small farm from its owner; it is the great forces of capitalism which are fostered, maintained and supported in every way by the political parties of the capitalist class. The Socialist Party does not come forward to assist in this process of reducing the farmer to the condition of tenant and wage worker. The Socialist Party comes, on the contrary, to point to a way out; to point to the possibility of release for the farmer now being driven from his land.

* * *

Since this article was prepared for the 1912 campaign book the United States Department of Agriculture has published a bulletin (No. 41, Bureau of Plant Industry) which confirms in a most remarkable manner the conclusions drawn above.

The investigators of the Department selected three typical areas, one each in Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. In these typical districts, says the report, "of the 700 farms studied, 57 per cent were operated by owners and 43 per cent by tenants."

The average capital invested per farm was \$17,535 in Indiana, \$51,091 in Illinois and \$23,193 in Iowa. The general average for all the farms in the three districts was \$30,606, a far greater sum than the average investment in manufacturing or trading.

On these farms the owners who worked their own farms made a little less than factory wages. The report says: "Deducting 5 per cent interest on the average capital leaves an average labor income of \$408 for the 273 farm owners. * * * The assertion that farmers are making large profits is erroneous. They are living on the earnings of their investment and not on the real profits of the farm. * * * One farmer out of every twenty-two received a labor income of over \$2,000 a year. One farmer out of every three paid for the privilege of working his farm, that is, after deducting 5 per cent interest on his investment he failed to make a plus labor income."

But labor income varies almost directly in proportion to investment. It was the farmers with small capital who made no wages. To quote again: "The 247 tenant farmers made an average labor income of \$870 from an investment of less than \$2,500. When it is remembered that the farm owners with twelve times this investment made less than half the labor income of tenants, the evidence is unmistakable that the man with small capital should rent rather than buy a farm." The report does not point out, what is notorious, that landlords are constantly squeezing the tenant closer and that the time in which he will be permitted to make this income, even when he has \$2,500 of his own to invest, is short.

When a few farms of exceptional size and manifestly poor management, which yielded a "minus income" are omitted, the size of the "labor income" increases directly in proportion to the amount of capital invested, although there is an endeavor to cover up this fact by those who wrote the report, and in one place they apparently deny it. But where the figures are given they say: "It will be noticed that of the entire number nine men with less than \$5,000 capital received \$74 for their year's work. Only two farmers out of forty-six with less than \$10,000 invested made over \$400. Out of the entire 273 only twelve men received over \$2,000 labor income. Each of these had more than \$20,000 invested. The chance of a farm owner making a labor income of \$1,000 with less than \$15,000 invested is less than one in twenty." This, it must be remembered, is in the most favorable agricultural region in the United States.

But the tenant without capital is equally helpless. To quote:

"Almost without exception the tenant's income is in direct proportion to the sum he has invested."

These are all the phenomena that have preceded and forced concentration in ownership in other lines of industry. That this concentration is taking place is noted: "According to the last census the farms in the North Central States are growing fewer in number and larger in area. * * * Of all the farms operated by owners there were twenty of just forty acres in area, the average labor income of which was \$70. None made a labor income of \$1,000. There were twenty-six men on eighty-acre farms and only one of them made a labor income of \$1,000. Of the twenty-five men on 160-acre farms one in five made \$1,000 or more." In other words, the farm of less than 160 acres is below the point of profitable operation. The table giving area and income shows a continuous and unbroken increase of labor income as the acreage of the farm increases and the reporters comment on this as follows: "Thus the decrease in the number of farms in the North Central States is no cause for alarm. It is rather a sign that land is being utilized more efficiently and that the same products are being produced at less cost."

This is a complete confirmation of the Socialist theory of concentration, but scarcely carries comfort to the small farm owner who is being forced into the ranks of tenants and hired laborers.

What Socialism Will Do for the Farmer.

The Socialist Party proposes to do all in its power to alleviate the condition of the farmer who now works with his own hands on his little bit of land; but it is not blind to the fact that all the Socialists or anyone else could do would not protect him in that ownership against the powerful forces that are taking his farm from him. So the party comes forward with the proposal that producers of wealth on the farm shall join with those of the factory to obtain the ownership of the things necessary to their lives.

Just as the Socialist Party proposes to restore the ownership of the factory and mill, the mines and the railroads to those who work in them and who create wealth through their use, so it proposes to restore the lands and the machinery to the men who produce the crops of this country; but this cannot be individual ownership in either case; so the Socialist Party believes the time has now come for the beginning of socially-operated farms; these farms would be sufficiently large to use the most improved machinery; they would be officered and directed by the socially trained graduates of our agricultural educational institutions and their wealth would all go to those who produced it and worked upon the farm.

Pending the time when such farms can be established, the following program adopted at our National Convention pledges the party to the enactment of a series of measures especially designed to afford relief to the great class of workers on the farm.

Proposed Farmers' Program.

1. The Socialist Party demands that the means of transportation and storage and the plants used in the manufacture of farm products and farm machinery shall be socially owned and democratically managed.

2. To prevent the holding of land out of use and to eliminate tenantry, we demand that all farm land not cultivated by owners shall be taxed at its full rental value, and that actual use and occupancy shall be the only title to land.

3. We demand the retention by the national, state or local

governing bodies of all land owned by them, and the continuous acquirement of other land by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise; such land to be organized as rapidly as possible into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.

4. Such farms should constitute educational and experimental centers for crop culture, the use of fertilizers and farm machinery, and distributing points for improved seeds and better breeds of animals.

5. The formation of co-operative associations for agricultural purposes should be encouraged.

6. Insurance against diseases of animals and plants, insect pests and natural calamities should be provided by national, state or local governments.

7. We call attention to the fact that the elimination of farm tenantry and the development of socially owned and operated agriculture will open new opportunities to the agricultural wage-worker and free him from the tyranny of the private employer.

(b) CONCENTRATION IN THE OWNERSHIP OF WATER POWER.

Monopolizing the Nation's Water Ways.—From "The Beast," by Judge Ben B. Lindsey. (Published by Doubleday, Page & Company.)

By the use of the legislature, the courts and public officials, the corporations are establishing a power trust that has obtained incredible rights in all the watersheds and power streams surrounding Denver, without any reservation to the state of the people's rights in these natural resources; so that our children and our children's children, for all time will be compelled to pay the heirs of the Beast for the right to use the water-power that should have been an asset of the community instead of an asset of the Beast.

Concentration of Ownership and Control of Water Power in the United States.

(From the Report of the United States Commissioner of Corporations on Water Power Development, March 14, 1912.)

Excluding developments of less than 1,000 h. p. (horse power), the total developed water power of the United States, as compiled by the Bureau, is 4,016,127 h. p.

Three-fourths of this is "commercial power" (power produced for sale). (P. xv, Letter of Submittal.)

This report shows an increasing concentration of the control of water powers by certain large interests (p. xv, Letter of Submittal) and mentions three main causes of the consolidation of water powers. First, economy in operation; second, specialization in engineering enterprise; third, the elimination of competition.

Local Concentration.—In California six great power corporations, of which the most important is the Pacific Gas and Electric Co. (with 118,343 h. p.), together control 375,000 h. p., over 86 per cent of all the developed water power in the State.

In Washington two companies control 210,000 h. p., or about 70 per cent of all developed water power.

In South Carolina the Southern Power Co. owns about 101,000 h. p., or 75 per cent of the total commercially developed, with 73,000 h. p. undeveloped.

In the Southern Peninsula of Michigan the Commonwealth Power, Railway and Light Co. controls 52,000 h. p., or 73 per cent of the commercially developed, together with probably 71,000 h. p. more undeveloped.

Practically similar conditions exist in Montana, Colorado, Georgia, and at Niagara Falls.

Control by Interests.—More important still, however, are the

great groups of water power interests. There are ten groups of interests, each controlling or influencing through mutual directors and officers over 50,000 h. p. developed and under construction. By far the widest sphere of interest is that of the General Electric Co., primarily an electric equipment concern. The General Electric influence takes three forms: First, by absolute control; second, through interownership of stock and community of directors; third, simply community of directors. In the first class there are 6 companies with about 83,000 h. p. In the second class there are 8 companies with about 419,000 h. p. In the third class there are about 10 companies with about 939,000 h. p. A total of 1,441,000 h. p. of developed water power in 18 different States. In addition this group controls about 640,000 h. p. undeveloped a grand total of over 2,000,000 h. p.

Next are the Stone and Webster interests, which own or strongly influence 278,000 h. p. They exercise control, largely through management rather than ownership, over 55 or 60 companies. (Page xvii, Letter of Submittal.)

Interrelationship of Large Interests.—There is still a wider community of interest. Some of these great groups show more or less relationship with one another. The two greatest, the General Electric and the Stone & Webster groups, have directors in a number of the same corporations, and the S. Morgan Smith, Westinghouse, and Brady interests are similarly connected.

There is, furthermore, an increasing affiliation of water power concerns and public service corporations. The companies in the General Electric group control street railways in 16 towns, electric-lighting plants in 78, and gas plants in 19. Altogether, water power or allied companies own or control and operate street railways in 111 towns, electric-lighting plants in 669 towns, and gas plants in 113 towns.

Interlocking Directorates.—Men who are officers or directors in that company (General Electric Co.), or of its three wholly controlled subsidiaries, are also officers and directors in many other corporations. About 20 General Electric men in all constitute most of this chain of connection, three of these being members of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., which is generally regarded as the dominant interest in the General Electric Co. (Observe how every industrial function is gravitating toward the J. P. Morgan center.)

This great concentration movement is in a field where the public is peculiarly interested. Power is at the foundation of modern industry. * * * The need for water power development is obvious. The non-use of water power means the diminution of our other sources of power. The water power now in use saves at least 33,000,000 tons of coal annually. * * * It must be frankly recognized that the most efficient use of water power requires a considerable degree of unified control. (Page xix.)

The concentration of ownership of developed water power has steadily grown until in any given community it is usually all under a single control, or substantially so. (Page ix.)

Control of Water Power in Specific Localities.

Mississippi River Power Co.—At Keokuk, Iowa, the Mississippi River Power Co., who are largely British and Boston citizens, are building a dam across the Mississippi River which will generate 225,000 kilowatts of power, the equivalent of over 300,000 horsepower, and which will be used within a zone of 150 miles radius from Keokuk. St. Louis, Mo., 135 miles distant, has contracted for 60,000 horse power for ninety-nine years.

The power developed there amounts to one-fifth of all the

water power now harnessed in the entire U. S., and one-third of the entire horse power used in the State of Illinois, including Chicago.

This work is being completed by a private corporation, capitalized at about \$27,000,000 under a grant by the United States Government.

Considering the development and the fact that the charge for power is cheaper than at Niagara, also the water and rail facilities, it is estimated that it will add 1,200,000 to the population within a radius of 50 miles.

Niagara Falls.—All of the 262,000 h. p. on the American side is owned by two companies—the Hydraulic Power Co. and the Niagara Falls Power Co. The latter company, moreover, owns all the stock of the Canadian Niagara Power Co., with 62,500 h p. developed, on the Canadian side. * * *

In California the bulk of the power produced in the northern half of the State is controlled by a single interest, and that in the southern half by only two companies. In Montana two companies control 96 per cent of all the developed power of the State; and in Washington a single interest controls the power situation in the Puget Sound region, while another interest, more or less closely affiliated with it, controls the developed power elsewhere in the State. All the developed power in the vicinity of Denver, Colo., and nearly 70 per cent of the total developed power of the State, is controlled by one interest. In South Carolina one corporation owns 75 per cent of the developed commercial power, while in North Carolina 45 per cent of such power, developed and under construction, is controlled by a single interest. One group of interests practically controls 58 per cent of all the commercial power, developed and under construction, in Georgia.

In the lower Peninsula of Michigan a single group owns 73 per cent of all such power. (Page xiv.)

Tables Showing Concentration by Interests.

| | Per cent owned. |
|---|-----------------|
| California. (Map opposite page 106.) | |
| Pacific Gas & Electric Company..... | 27 |
| Sierra & San Francisco Power Company..... | 15 |
| Great Western Power Company..... | 14 |
| Northern California Power Company, Consolidated..... | 11 |
| Pacific Light & Power Company, Corporation..... | 11 |
| South California Edison Company..... | 9 |
| All others | 13 |
| Washington. (Map opposite page 112.) | |
| Washington Water Power Company..... | 44 |
| Pacific Coast Power Company..... | 26 |
| City of Tacoma..... | 11 |
| City of Seattle..... | 7 |
| All others | 12 |
| Montana. (Map opposite page 114.) | |
| Butte Electric & Power Company..... | 50 |
| United Missouri River Power Company..... | 47 |
| All others | 3 |
| Colorado. (Map opposite page 116.) | |
| Central Colorado Power Company | 67 |
| Telluride Power Company | 14 |
| All others | 19 |
| North Carolina. (Map opposite page 124.) | |
| Carolina Power & Light Company | 45 |
| North Carolina Power & Electric Company | 39 |
| North Carolina Electrical Power Company..... | 9 |
| All others | 7 |
| South Carolina. (Map opposite page 124.) | |
| Southern Power Company | 75 |
| All others | 25 |
| Georgia. (Map opposite page 128.) | |
| Smith Interests | 58 |
| Central Georgia Power Company | 19 |
| Columbus Power Company | 9 |
| All others | 14 |
| Michigan—Southern Peninsula. (Map opposite page 130.) | |
| Commonwealth Power, Railway & Light Company..... | 73 |
| Indiana & Michigan Electric Company | 13 |
| All others | 14 |
| Wisconsin. (Page 133.) | |
| Three companies own 80 per cent. | |

The General Electric Company.—The influence of the General Electric Co. in municipal public service corporations is by no means confined to those communities that have water power. It, or its subsidiaries, has acquired control of or an interest in the public service corporations of numerous cities where there is no water power connection, and it is affiliated with still others by virtue of common directors. (Page 160.)

Strong Financial Position of the General Electric Co.—The officers and directors of the General Electric Co. are also officers or directors in more than 50 banking and trust companies, many of which are among the strongest in the country.

Probably at the head of this list of financial institutions should be placed J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Morgan banking interests. (Page 161.)

The ten companies or groups of companies that control more than 60 per cent of all the commercial power developed and under construction in the United States are: General Electric Interests, 939,115 h. p.; Stone & Webster Interests, 278,067 h. p.; Hydraulic Power Co. of Niagara Falls, 114,000 h. p.; Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 118,343 h. p.; Clark-Foote-Hodenpyl-Walbridge Interests, 104,300 h. p.; Southern Power Co., 101,680 h. p.; S. Morgan Smith Interests, 70,600 h. p.; Brady Interests, 70,600 h. p.; United Missouri River Power Co., 65,000 h. p.; Telluride Power Co., 56,350 h. p.

The five largest groups of holders of developed water power in the United States control more than 50 per cent of all the commercial power developed and under construction in the country, besides having more than 1,200,000 h. p. undeveloped. (Pages 180, 181.)

There is an interrelationship of these groups, themselves (the General Electric Co., Stone & Webster, S. Morgan Smith, Brady, and others), that suggests the possibility, if not the probability, of still greater concentration. (Page 182.)

Summary.—Summarizing these interrelationships it is seen that the General Electric Co. and its three wholly controlled subsidiaries have some sort of connection or relation with at least six other large interests. * * * There is thus brought into more or less close relationship a vast volume of water power and a great number of street railway and lighting companies, besides steam railroads and a number of the largest banking interests in this country.

There is here presented such a situation in water powers and other public utilities as might bring about at any time under a single management the control of a majority of the developed water power in the United States and similar control over the public utilities in a vast number of cities and towns, including some of the most important in the country. (Page 185.)

Consolidations of Public-Service Corporations Themselves.—The importance of the relationship between water power concerns and public-service corporations is greatly enhanced because of the fact that during recent years there has been a rapid consolidation of gas and electric lighting companies and, to a somewhat less extent, a consolidation of lighting and street railway companies. These consolidations are not confined to single cities; but in several instances all the local transit and lighting facilities in several towns have been gathered under a single control. * * *

Concentration along this line is constantly increasing in scope and strength. There are steady additions to the list of public-service agencies controlled by or affiliated with water power concerns. Combinations heretofore formed are being merged into larger and stronger ones, and these larger units of management show a close relationship one to another. (Page 189.)

(c) CONCENTRATION IN THE OWNERSHIP OF TIMBER.

(From Concentration and Control. Charles R. Van Hise. Pages 156-159. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

Of the merchantable saw timber of the United States, 20 per cent is still owned by the government, leaving 80 per cent in private hands. Of the vast amount of timber in private holdings the concentration of ownership is shown by the following table:

Table 46. Concentration of Timber Ownership by Groups, Shown Cumulatively, in Entire Investigation Area.

| | Number of holders. | Amount of timber owned in billions of feet. | Per cent of total. |
|-------------------|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| Total ..... | ..... | 1,747.0 | 100.0 |
| Group 1 | 3 | 237.5 | 13.6 |
| Groups 1-2 | 8 | 339.5 | 19.4 |
| Groups 1-3 | 22 | 459.0 | 26.2 |
| Groups 1-4 | 48 | 574.3 | 32.8 |
| Groups 1-5 | 90 | 690.5 | 39.5 |
| Groups 1-6 | 195 | 839.7 | 48.0 |
| Groups 1-7 | 385 | 972.1 | 55.6 |
| Groups 1-8 | 658 | 1,068.5 | 61.1 |
| Groups 1-9 | 1,147 | 1,153.3 | 66.0 |
| Groups 1-10 | 1,802 | 1,208.8 | 69.2 |
| Group 11 ..... | ..... | 538.2 | 30.8 |

From this table it will be seen that three holdings include no less than 237.5 billion feet, or nearly 11 per cent of the privately owned timber in the entire country, and over 13.5 per cent of the privately owned timber in the investigation area. These three holders are the Southern Pacific Company, the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company and the Northern Pacific Railway Company. Five other holders ranking next in importance own in the investigation area an aggregate of 102 billion feet, or 4.6 per cent of the total privately owned timber of the country and 5.8 per cent of that in the investigation area. Thus the eight large holders together own approximately 340 billion feet of timber, or 15.4 per cent of the total privately owned timber of the country and 19.4 per cent of that in the investigation area.

Twenty-two holders own 26.2 per cent of all the timber in the investigation area; 195 holders own 48 per cent. Stated in another way, more than one-eighth of the total timber in the investigation area (this representing 80 per cent of the total privately owned timber of the United States) is owned by only 3 holders; more than one-fourth is owned by only 22 holders. Almost one-half is owned by 195 holders.

The most marked concentration is in the hands of the comparatively few large holders of the upper groups; the lower groups control a much less important percentage. Thus, while the 385 holders in groups 1 to 7, inclusive, control 55.6 per cent of the timber in the investigation area, the 273 holders in group 8 control only 5.5 per cent, the 489 holders in group 9 only 4.9 per cent, and the 655 holders in group 10 only 3.2 per cent.

Furthermore, these 10 groups, 1,802 holdings, embrace nearly 70 per cent of the total timber in the investigation area, while group 11, the remaining holdings, aggregating unnumbered thousands, have in all only 538.2 billion feet, or 30.8 per cent of total.

Concentration of Timber Ownership by Groups, Shown Cumulatively, in Pacific Northwest.

| | Number of holders. | Amount of timber owned in billions of feet. | Per cent of total. |
|-------------------|--------------------|---|--------------------|
| Total ..... | ..... | 1,013.0 | 100.0 |
| Group 1 | 3 | 237.5 | 23.5 |
| Groups 1-2 | 8 | 338.9 | 33.5 |
| Groups 1-3 | 20 | 436.3 | 43.1 |
| Groups 1-4 | 38 | 507.3 | 50.1 |
| Groups 1-5 | 64 | 471.9 | 56.5 |
| Groups 1-6 | 131 | 663.8 | 65.6 |
| Groups 1-7 | 217 | 723.0 | 71.4 |
| Groups 1-8 | 313 | 757.3 | 74.8 |
| Groups 1-9 | 489 | 789.1 | 77.9 |
| Groups 1-10 | 711 | 807.4 | 79.7 |
| Group 11 ..... | ..... | 205.6 | 20.3 |

The pronounced concentration of timber ownership in the Pacific Northwest is at once apparent from this table. The 3 largest companies own over 23 per cent of the total, or almost one-fourth, while 5 more own 10 per cent, these 8 holders having a little more than a third of the total for this region. The next 12 holders own over 9 per cent, giving the 20 principal holders 43 per cent of the total. The next 18 own 7 per cent; thus no less than 50 per cent of the total privately owned timber in this vast region is in the hands of 38 holders. The next 6 groups, comprising 673 holders, together own less than 30 per cent of the total.

Concentration of ownership in the southern pine belt and in the lake region, while great, is not so far advanced as in the Pacific Northwest. In all regions the concentration is greater for the high-class timber, such as fir, pine and cypress, than it is for the less valuable hard wood.

The National Conservation Commission, in their report of 1909, Vol. I, pages 52-53, say:

"Our forests now cover 550,000,000 acres, or about one-fourth of the United States. The original forests covered not less than 850,000,000 acres.

"Forests publicly owned contain one-fifth of all timber standing. Forests privately owned contain at least four-fifths of the standing timber. The timber privately owned is not only four times that publicly owned, but it is generally more valuable.

"Forestry is not practised on seventy per cent of the forests publicly owned, and on less than one per cent of those privately owned, or on only about eighteen per cent of the total area of forests."

How It Stands Today.

| | |
|---|---------------------|
| Original forests, approximately..... | 1,000,000,000 acres |
| Exhausted up to the present time..... | 450,000,000 acres |
| Forest resources remaining | 550,000,000 acres |
| Forests privately owned, 4/5 of the acreage remaining, or | 440,000,000 acres |
| Forests publicly owned, 1/5 of the total, or.... | 110,000,000 acres |

(d) CONCENTRATION IN THE OWNERSHIP OF OIL.

(From Concentration and Control, Charles R. Van Hise, pages 104-105. Published by Macmillan Company.)

The report of the Bureau of Corporations upon the Standard Oil Company was published in 1907, and includes no account of the business to and including the year 1906. The facts here stated are to be considered as of that date.

The Standard Oil Company, with its various affiliated concerns, handled 84.2 per cent of the crude oil which goes to the refineries in the United States. One refinery, that at Bayonne, New Jersey, consumed more crude oil than all the independent plants of the country.

The Rise of the Company.—The rule of the Standard Oil Company began with the union of several large refining companies into a partnership known as Rockefeller, Andrews & Flagler, in 1867. Three years later this partnership was succeeded by the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, with a capitalization of \$1,000,000; and with its organization began the campaign for the control of the refining business of the country. When the company was formed it did not control more than 10 per cent. Within ten years the Standard Oil and associated companies controlled about 90 per cent. Monopoly was accomplished in a decade.

Not only did this company control the refining business, but it controlled every important pipe line in the oil fields. The only serious competitor was the Tide Water Pipe Line Company, which, however, in a few years passed to the Standard. Thus the Standard for many years had no rival in pipe line trans-

mission of oil to the Atlantic coast; and at no time was there more than one independent pipe line to the seaboard, and this much smaller than those of the Standard Oil.

In 1882 the Standard Oil interests formed the Standard Oil Trust, under which the entire stock holdings of fourteen companies and a majority interest in twenty-six additional concerns were held by trustees. The capitalization of the trust at that time was \$70,000,000, and the appraised value of its property in excess of \$55,000,000. Of the \$70,000,000 trust certificates, nine of the trustees owned more than \$46,000,000. The appraised value of the trust by 1892 had accumulated to \$126,000,000. As a result of a decision against the Standard Oil Company of Ohio in 1882 and contempt proceedings, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was organized, but not until 1897.

Thus the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, a holding concern, was a direct successor to the trust, the only difference being that the holding company owned all of the stock of the subsidiary companies, instead of being a trustee for this stock; each alike controlled the business of the subsidiary companies, and received and distributed all dividends. The officers of the constituent companies in one case had their orders from the trustees, in the other from the officers of the corporation, composed of substantially the same men.

The authorized capital of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was \$100,000,000, of which \$98,338,300 was issued. The Standard Oil Company included in America eleven companies mainly engaged in refining, five lubricating oil companies, three crude oil companies, fourteen pipe line companies, a tank line company, six marketing companies, and sixteen natural gas companies. Its business abroad was done through sixteen companies. In addition to these companies, seven pipe lines and refining companies were closely affiliated with or controlled by the Standard Oil Company.

(c) CONCENTRATION IN THE OWNERSHIP OF MINERAL RESOURCES.

Of the mineral resources of the nation, coal and iron are the most important. Both have been and are being monopolized and exploited.

According to President Van Hise, of the Wisconsin University, three-fourths of all the available iron ore of the nation is in the Lake Superior region. Seventy-five per cent of this iron ore is owned already by the steel corporation, and not less than fifty per cent of all the iron ore of the nation is owned by this single corporation. ("Conservation of Natural Resources of the United States," page 65.)

Fully seven-eighths of the coal fields of the nation have already passed into private hands and are being exploited to the limit. During recent years some effort has been made to stop the monopolization of these natural resources. Several millions of acres of land containing coal deposits have been withdrawn. The proportion, however, is only a small fraction. The coal companies continue to extend their ownership and exploitation of these natural resources.

According to the United States Geological Survey on "Mineral Resources of the United States"—1910, Part II, pages 26-27, the original coal producing area of the United States amounted to 198,589,440 acres. According to President Van Hise, 25,559,000, or about one-eighth of the total area of coal bearing lands, have been withdrawn. This leaves in private hands at the present time nearly seven-eighths of the total coal fields of the nation, or 173,000,000 acres.

(From National Socialist Handbook No. 2.)

One of the most significant facts revealed in the Census

Bureau's bulletin on mines and quarries is that concentration has proceeded even further in this branch of industry than in manufacturing. In the factories of the nation 11.5 per cent of the total number of establishments produced, in 1909, 82.2 per cent of the total product. In the mining, quarrying and petroleum and gas industries 7.1 per cent of the operators produced 84.6 per cent of the total product.

3. Concentration in the Ownership of the Means of Production and Distribution.

(a) CONCENTRATION IN MANUFACTURE.

(Thirteenth Census of United States, "Manufactures," Pages 24 and 27.)

| | 1909. | 1904. |
|--|------------------|------------------|
| Total establishments | 268,491 | 216,180 |
| Number operated by corporations... | 69,501 | 51,097 |
| Per cent of total | 25.9 | 23.6 |
| Value of Products. | | |
| Establishments operated by corporations | \$16,341,116,634 | \$10,904,069,307 |
| Per cent of total | 79.0 | 73.7 |
| Establishments reporting products valued at \$1,000,000 or over..... | 3,061 | 1,900 |
| Per cent of total | 1.1 | .9 |
| Value of products of these establishments | \$ 9,053,698,364 | \$ 5,628,455,171 |
| Per cent of total | 43.8 | 38.0 |

These figures are far more significant than appears at first blush. They show in another way (what has been demonstrated again and again in this book by federal statistics) the enormous centralizing of the processes of production—the absorbing by the great enterprises of all the country's industry—the inevitable stamping out of small business concerns. In 1904 the number of establishments producing a million dollars' worth of wealth or more was less than 1 per cent of the total number of manufactories; yet these establishments turned out 38 per cent of the total manufactured product of the United States. In 1909 the million-dollar product plants were over one per cent of the total number of manufactories, and turned out 44 per cent of the total product.

There were 1,900 of these establishments in 1904 and 3,061 in 1909. Counting the establishments producing more than \$100,000 in values annually, it is shown that in 1904 11.2 per cent of the total of 216,180 establishments turned out 79.3 per cent of the total product, and that in 1909 11.5 per cent of the total of 268,491 establishments turned out 82.2 per cent of the total. The other 88.5 per cent of the establishments had to be satisfied with the leavings of 17.8 per cent of the product.

(Table on Page 26 of Bulletin on Manufactures, Thirteenth Census, Page 26.)

| Value of products: | Number of establishments. | Av. No. of wage earners. | Value of products. | Value added by manufacture. |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| All classes— | | | | |
| 1909 | 268,491 | 6,615,046 | \$20,672,051,870 | \$8,530,260,992 |
| 1904 | 216,180 | 5,468,383 | 14,793,902,563 | 6,293,694,753 |
| Less than \$5,000— | | | | |
| 1909 | 93,349 | 142,430 | 222,463,847 | 144,246,008 |
| 1904 | 71,147 | 106,353 | 176,128,212 | 141,781,124 |
| \$5,000 and less than \$20,000— | | | | |
| 1909 | 86,989 | 470,075 | 904,724,296 | 509,954,621 |
| 1904 | 72,792 | 419,466 | 751,047,759 | 424,129,643 |
| \$20,000 and less than \$100,000— | | | | |
| 1909 | 57,269 | 1,090,380 | 2,544,348,079 | 1,258,271,304 |
| 1904 | 48,096 | 1,027,047 | 2,129,257,883 | 1,090,271,887 |
| \$100,000 and less than \$1,000,000— | | | | |
| 1909 | 27,823 | 2,896,475 | 7,946,817,284 | 3,572,653,165 |
| 1904 | 22,246 | 2,515,064 | 6,109,021,538 | 2,782,641,883 |
| \$1,000,000 and over— | | | | |
| 1909 | 3,061 | 2,015,686 | 9,053,698,364 | 3,045,135,894 |
| 1904 | 1,900 | 1,400,453 | 5,628,456,171 | 1,881,870,216 |

| Value of products: | Number of establishments. | Av. No. of wage earners. | Value of products. | Value added by manufacture. |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Per cent of total— | | | | |
| 1909 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 1904 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Less than \$5,000— | | | | |
| 1909 | 34.8 | 2.2 | 1.1 | 1.7 |
| 1904 | 32.9 | 1.9 | 1.2 | 1.8 |
| \$5,000 and less than \$20,000— | | | | |
| 1909 | 32.4 | 7.1 | 4.4 | 6.0 |
| 1904 | 33.7 | 7.7 | 5.1 | 6.7 |
| \$20,000 and less than \$100,000— | | | | |
| 1909 | 21.3 | 16.5 | 12.3 | 14.7 |
| 1904 | 22.2 | 18.8 | 14.4 | 17.3 |
| \$100,000 and less than \$1,000,000 | | | | |
| 1909 | 10.4 | 43.8 | 38.4 | 41.9 |
| 1904 | 10.3 | 46.0 | 41.3 | 44.2 |
| \$1,000,000 and over | | | | |
| 1909 | 1.1 | 30.5 | 43.8 | 35.7 |
| 1904 | 0.9 | 25.6 | 38.0 | 29.9 |
| Average per establishment— | | | | |
| 1909 ..... | .... | 25 | .... | \$31,771 |
| 1904 ..... | .... | 25 | .... | 29,113 |

According to this table, from 1904 to 1909 the value of products increased approximately six billion dollars; the increase in the value of products in establishments reporting products valued at \$1,000,000 and over (about 1 per cent of the total number) was nearly four billion dollars, or two-thirds of the total increase. The rest of the increase (two billion dollars) was distributed pretty generally over the smaller establishments (99 per cent of the total number).

"During the ten years, from 1899 to 1909, the number of establishments increased 29.4 per cent; the capital employed, 105.3 per cent; the average number of wage earners, 40.4 per cent; the value of products, 81.2 per cent; and the value added by manufacture, 76.6 per cent." (Page 4, Bulletin of Manufacture, 13th Census.)

Further evidence of concentration is found in the fact that the amount of capital employed increased more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as the number of establishments. The value of products increased nearly three times as much as the number of establishments.

From 1904 to 1909 the number of establishments producing distilled liquors decreased from 805 to 613, but the value of their product increased from \$101,537,912 to \$148,435,755.

In smelting and refining copper the number of establishments dropped from 40 to 38, while the value of products advanced from \$238,328,190 to \$375,135,093. The number of tobacco establishments decreased, but the value of their product nearly doubled. (Page 27, Bulletin on Manufacturers, 13th Census.) The figures are:

| | No. establishments. | Value of products. |
|------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1904 | 16,827 | \$123,000,821 |
| 1909 | 15,822 | 203,894,122 |

Ownership by Corporations.

"Of the total number of establishments reported as engaged in manufacturing industries in 1909, 25.9 per cent were under corporate ownership. The corresponding figure for 1904 was 23.6 per cent. While corporations thus controlled only about one-fourth of the total number of establishments, they gave employment to a large proportion of all wage earners reported, namely 75.6 per cent in 1909 and 70.6 per cent in 1904.

"The value of the products of the factories operated by corporations represented 79 per cent of the total value of products for all establishments in 1909 and 73.7 per cent in 1904." (Page 23, Bulletin of Manufactures, 13th Census.)

Commenting further upon this point of concentration, the Report says, on page 28: "The industry in which establish-

ments reporting products of the value of \$1,000,000 or more constitute the largest proportion of the total number of establishments is the smelting and refining of copper, followed in order by the smelting and refining of lead, steel works and rolling mills, blast furnaces, the refining of petroleum, and the construction of steam railroad cars. In each of these industries in 1909 establishments of this class constituted more than one-fifth of the total number, and in the smelting and refining of copper they constituted about five-sixths of the total. In these industries, moreover, establishments of this size reported exceptionally high proportions to the total value of products. The smelting and refining of lead and copper ranked highest in this respect, with 99.2 and 99 per cent, respectively, of the total value of products reported by establishments with a value of products above \$1,000,000. The slaughtering and meat-packing industry, also, though its proportion of large establishments is not conspicuously high, shows a very high proportion of the total value of products, 85.8 per cent, reported from such establishments."

Thus it will be seen that the latest figures on manufacturing in the United States show that the same tendencies of concentration that have been going on everywhere for the last fifty years, have been marching steadily forward during the last ten.

(b) CONCENTRATION IN MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS.

The Department and "Chain" Stores.
(From Russell's "Business.")

More and more in the cities and towns the independent business man is being overwhelmed by the advance of the department store, while in the country and in the small towns loom up the mail-order house and the "chain."

The natural impulse is to think that these changes must be due to the evil ways and inordinate greed of certain men, and that our first duty is to restrain such men. As a matter of fact, no conceivable power can stop these developments, and they have nothing to do with the greed of any man. They are simply Business in the present stage of evolution. Greater economies, greater efficiency, greater profits lie in combination, concentration, organization, the simplification of processes. That is all—and enough. Human power could not check any such development any more than it could reverse the sea-tides.

All lines of commercial activity are profoundly affected by this mutation. For years we have been familiar with the progress of the Trust movement in enterprises requiring great capital, as in transportation and manufacturing. Possibly we have not always noted that the same development is rapidly changing over retail trade from an inorganic to an organic state. Yet it is.

Take the most familiar and necessary divisions of retail trade. Take a thing as familiar as the corner grocery. For years it has been subjected to the increasing competition of the department store. What is left from that struggle seems doomed now to be absorbed into the newly evolved "chain," which is consolidation under another name. All persons can not journey to the department store to purchase all their supplies, but the neighborhood grocery store that lies by their doors may be as much a part of the combination and as much of a machine as any department store. And that is what is now going on. The independent grocer is being eliminated.

One combination in New York City now owns a hundred and ninety grocery stores and steadily adds to its list. It is by no means alone in the city or country. Another "chain" extends through the Eastern States and has operated in the smaller

towns with no less success, while a third great "chain" is developing in the South.

Wherever a "chain store" appears it means an independent tradesman turned into a wage-earning employee.

Or take the drug store. Two companies in New York now own or control nearly one-fourth of the drug stores in the city and certainly continue to absorb others. Twenty-five years ago the ambition and assured expectation of every young man that studied pharmacy was to have a drug store of his own. Today his expectation is to obtain a salaried position with some company that owns one of the "chains" stretching about the country. Not only have the "chains" absorbed a great part of the drug business, but the next inevitable step has even now begun. These "chains" are now in process of assimilation by the two great Central Interests in finance that control the greater part of the money supply and therefore will inevitably continue to absorb one developed enterprise after another. Within a year of this writing one of these "chains" of drug stores has fallen into the hands of the American Tobacco Interests, which in turn are a part of the Standard Oil group. What chance of competition does that leave to the independent druggist?

Or shall we take the shoe trade? The great shoe manufacturing companies with their hundreds of retail stores have made the independent shoe dealer comparatively rare and will make him rarer. When the great company undertakes not only to make the shoe, but to vend it and to eliminate all profits between, what chance on earth has the middleman?

Or shall we take bakeries? Early in 1910 a hundred and sixty independent bakeries in New York City were absorbed into one company with \$6,000,000 capital. Of this "chain" company each formerly independent bakery is now a branch with a salaried manager in the place where he was once owner. The success of this enterprise is already so apparent that another on similar lines is being formed, to be followed doubtless by still others.

Or shall we take confectionery? You must have noticed in every considerable city confectionery stores with the same name, but you may not be aware that this name covers a steadily lengthening "chain" nor that it is already controlled by one of the final powers of American Business. But you surely must have observed that in these days the cigar and confectionery counters are two very important adjuncts in the typical drug store, and you should be interested to know next that the American Tobacco group, which has lately gone so heavily into the retail drug business, can now supply its own drug stores with its own cigars and its own confectionery.

Against such a condition competition by the druggist not yet absorbed must seem like a forlorn hope.

Or shall we take restaurant keeping? The Standard Oil interests control one "chain" of restaurants and the American Tobacco interests control another.

Or printing? One house in New York issues and prints twenty periodicals, and the small independent printer, like the small independent publisher, is disappearing.

Milk? The Central Interests own the Milk Trust.

Foundries or iron works? The Steel Trust looks after them.

Tobacco? The United Cigar Stores Company owns about seven hundred retail stores (operated in its own name) and will own many more when the present chances of litigation are removed.

Machinery? Largely controlled by institutions like the American Shoe Manufacturing Trust, a particularly vicious form of these combinations.

Men's clothing? Passing into the "chain" system. One company owns thirty-seven clothing stores in the West; another has 172 in the East.

Banks? Owned or controlled chiefly by the Standard Oil, Morgan or Beef Trust "chains."

Butcher shops? Under process of absorption through the absorbed grocery stores, or becoming practically the agencies for the Beef Trust.

Dry goods of all kinds, stationery, toys, furniture, carpets and rugs, millinery, hats, drugs, clothing, notions, cigars and tobacco, books, periodicals, trunks and travelers' requisites, dentistry, lamps, crockery, glassware, stoves, men's furnishings, umbrellas, piano and other musical instruments, sheet music, pictures, dressmaking, harness, shoes, all kinds of leather goods, and some other things are usually included in the department stores. (From "Business: the Heart of the Nation," by Charles Edward Russell (\$1.00 net), John Lane Company, New York, Publishers.)

(c) CONCENTRATION IN AMERICAN RAILWAYS.

The greatest single industrial factor in the United States is the railways. Railroading is the biggest business in the country. Every other business and industry depends upon the railroads. They are the framework of the entire economic and industrial system of the nation—the greatest factor in modern life.

According to the various authorities there are about 2,500 different roads. They do an aggregate of about \$2,800,000,000 worth of business a year, or about \$9,000,000 per day. This is nearly five times as much as the Steel Trust does, nearly six times the total government receipts. In a year it is more than five times the whole world's output of gold and more than all the money in the United States.

Moreover, the concentration of the ownership of the railways constitutes the most gigantic trust in the world. For while there are nominally 2,500 different corporations, the interrelationship, interlocking directorates, community of interests and the like have knit the whole system together by most remarkable and intricate ties in such a way as to create a mammoth transportation trust. Its power and domination is such as this nation has never before seen.

Beginning back in 1828 with three miles of railroad, the system has grown steadily and rapidly until today there are over 250,000 miles, not including the so-called industrial roads, a term applied to lumber and logging, switching and terminal tracks.

And with the growth of mileage the revenues and expenditures have been going up. These are shown in the following tables. The figures for the years 1905, 1906 and 1907 are taken from the Statistics of Railways in the U. S. Interstate Commerce Commission for these years. The figures for the years 1908 to 1911 are from the Bulletins of Revenues and Expenses, monthly report section, Interstate Commerce Commission, Nos. 5, 18 and 31:

| Year. | Revenues. | Earnings. | Expenses. |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1905 | | \$2,082,482,406 | \$1,390,602,152 |
| 1906 | | 2,325,765,167 | 1,536,877,271 |
| 1907 | | 2,589,105,578 | 1,748,515,814 |
| Year. | Revenues. | Expenses. | Income. |
| 1908 | \$2,421,542,004 | \$1,687,144,975 | \$656,418,320 |
| 1909 | 2,443,312,232 | 1,615,497,233 | 742,987,100 |
| 1910 | 2,787,266,136 | 1,847,189,773 | 838,617,100 |
| 1911 | 2,818,780,398 | 1,935,511,581 | 776,232,865 |

It will be noted that the income is not the difference between the two columns. This is due to the fact that the Commission subtracts from the income certain other expenditures and then

takes out the taxes. The figures, therefore, represent the final net operating income or profit.

The figures for the year ending June 30, 1912, are not yet available, but preliminary figures that cannot be made public yet indicate that the present year is to be the banner year of all, surpassing the years of 1907 and 1910.

The bad features of this gigantic private monopoly will be treated in the chapter under Evil Effects of the Capitalistic System.

(d) CONCENTRATION IN THE OWNERSHIP OF TELEGRAPHS.

(From an article by Charles Edward Russell in Pearson's Magazine.)

The Western Union Telegraph Company was organized in 1856 with a capital of \$500,000 to take over the old New York & Mississippi Valley. Whenever a company is organized to "take over" another company, look out for financial high tides.

By May, 1864, stock dividends, melons, water and other forms of financing legerdemain had increased the capital stock to \$20,133,800. By July 1, 1869, it was \$41,963,100. For all of which we are now paying with the tolls on our telegrams.

In June, 1879, the Western Union cut another melon, this time of \$5,978,125, being a scrip dividend of 17 per cent. We are still paying for that also.

In those days a recognized branch of trade in Wall Street was to organize a telegraph company, make a pretense of competing with the Western Union and sell out to the monopoly, thereby loading it up with further capitalization for us to pay. I will give one example, and that historic.

About 1878 Jay Gould got up one of these specious companies called the American Union. It was launched as the champion of an oppressed people, going forth to war with the hateful monopoly and scattering on all sides the blessings of competition.

Mr. Gould maneuvered this bright and brilliant concern until he got the Western Union where he wanted it, then he held up the old ship with a proposal of a grand consolidation of the American Union, Western Union and Atlantic & Pacific companies on this delectable basis. The Western Union was to increase its capital stock to \$80,000,000 by issuing about \$35,000,000 of new shares. Of these Mr. Gould took 100,000 shares in payment at par for his American Union stock and similarly exchanged \$5,000,000 of American Union bonds. These transactions were at par, please note; but the stockholders of the Atlantic & Pacific, the older and better company, were obliged to take the new stock at 60 for their \$14,000,000 of Atlantic & Pacific. They couldn't do anything else; the pistol was at their heads. The rest of the new issue went to the holders of old Western Union.

This performance gave Mr. Gould control of the Western Union and added \$35,000,000 to the capitalization on which we must furnish the dividends through excessive telegraph tolls.

Most of these securities had been created with nothing but a printing press. But we ought to think of them tenderly. They have been indeed dear to us, for we have paid for them about twice their face value so far.

After the consolidation experts gave their opinion that everything the Western Union had on earth could be duplicated for \$20,000,000. Capital stock \$80,000,000. Four to one.

That is the difference between telegraph rates here and telegraph rates in Germany. Four to one.

(e) CONCENTRATION IN OWNERSHIP OF TELEPHONES.

From 1902 to 1907 the Independent (non-Bell) System increased 24 per cent. The Bell System increased 297.7 per cent. (American Year Book, page 21.)

In 1907 the number of companies grouped in the Bell System was 175, and the number of independent (non-Bell) systems was 3,441. Yet the Bell System had a capital of \$749,840,435, while the non-Bell systems had a capital of only \$322,965,558. One hundred seventy-five companies had twice as much capital as 3,441 companies. (Special Census Report, "Telephones" (1907), page 57.)

4. The Money Trust.

(From report of the committee appointed pursuant to House Resolutions 429 and 504 to investigate the concentration of control of money and credit. Submitted by

Mr. Pujo. Pages 130, 131, 132, 133.)

If by a money trust is meant—

An established and well-defined identity and community of interest between a few leaders of finance which has been created and is held together through stock holdings, interlocking directorates and other forms of domination over banks, trust companies, railroads, public service and industrial corporations, and which has resulted in a vast and growing concentration of control of money and credit in the hands of a comparatively few men—your committee, as before stated, has no hesitation in asserting as the result of its investigation up to this time that the condition thus described exists in this country today.

Some of the endless ramifications of this power have been traced and presented and it is upon these that we have based our findings. Many others can be fully discovered and analyzed only after a close scrutiny of the internal affairs of the great national banks that will disclose the ways in which their resources are used, to whom their funds are loaned, what securities they have been buying and selling and how their vast profits have been earned. Whilst your committee has been denied access to this data, sufficient has been learned to reveal the relations of these banks and of the State banks and trust companies and the use that has been made of them in upbuilding a power over our financial system and in consequence over our railroads and greater industries that permits real competition on a large scale in the various fields of enterprise only by sufferance, if at all.

The parties to this combination or understanding or community of interest, by whatever name it may be called, may be conveniently classified, for the purpose of differentiation, into four separate groups.

First. The first, which for convenience of statement we will call the inner group, consists of J. P. Morgan & Co., the recognized leaders, and George F. Baker and James Stillman in their individual capacities and in their joint administration and control of the First National Bank, the National City Bank, the National Bank of Commerce, the Chase National Bank, the Guaranty Trust Co., and the Bankers Trust Co., with total known resources, in these corporations alone, in excess of \$1,300,000,000, and of a number of smaller but important financial institutions. This takes no account of the personal fortunes of these gentlemen.

Second. Closely allied with this inner or primary group, and indeed related to them practically as partners in many of their larger financial enterprises, are the powerful international banking house of Lee, Higginson & Co., the Kidder, Peabody & Co.,

with three affiliated banks in Boston—the National Shawmut Bank, the First National Bank, and the Old Colony Trust Co.—having at least more than half of the total resources of all the Boston banks; also with interests and representation in other important New England financial institutions.

Third. In New York City the international banking house of Messrs. Kuhn, Loeb & Co., with its large foreign clientele and connections, whilst only qualifiedly allied with the inner group, and only in isolated transactions, yet through its close relations with the National City Bank and the National Bank of Commerce and other financial institutions with which it has recently allied itself has many interests in common, conducting large joint-account transactions with them, especially in recent years, and having what virtually amounts to an understanding not to compete, which is defended as a principle of "banking ethics." Together they have, with a few exceptions, preempted the banking business of the important railways of the country.

Fourth. In Chicago this inner group associates with and makes issues of securities in joint account or through underwriting participations primarily with the First National Bank and the Illinois Trust & Savings Bank, and has more or less friendly business relations with the Continental & Commercial National Bank, which participates at times in the underwriting of security issues by the inner group. These are the three largest financial institutions in Chicago, with combined resources (including the two affiliated and controlled State institutions of the two national banks) of \$561,000,000.

Radiating from these principal groups and closely affiliated with them are smaller but important banking houses, such as Kissel Kinnicut & Co., White, Weld & Co., and Harvey Fisk & Sons, who receive large and lucrative patronage from the dominating groups and are used by the latter as jobbers or distributors of securities, the issuing of which they control, but which, for reasons of their own, they prefer not to have issued or distributed under their own names. Messrs. Lee, Higginson & Co., besides being partners with the inner group, are also frequently utilized in this service because of their facilities as distributors of securities.

Beyond these inner groups and sub-groups are banks and bankers throughout the country who co-operate with them in underwriting or guaranteeing the sale of securities offered to the public and who also act as distributors of such securities. It was impossible to learn the identity of these corporations, owing to the unwillingness of the members of the inner group to disclose the names of their underwriters, but sufficient appears to justify the statement that there are at least hundreds of them and that they extend into many of the cities throughout this and foreign countries.

The patronage thus proceeding from the inner group and its sub-groups is of great value to these banks and bankers, who are thus tied by self-interest to the great issuing houses and may be regarded as a part of this vast financial organization. Such patronage yields no inconsiderable part of the income of these banks and bankers and without much risk on account of the facilities of the principal groups for placing issues of securities through their domination of great banks and trust companies and their other domestic affiliations and their foreign connection. The underwriting commissions on issues made by this inner group are usually easily earned and do not ordinarily involve the underwriters in the purchase of the underwritten securities. Their interest in the transaction is generally adjusted, unless they choose to purchase part of the securities, by the payment to them of a commission. There are, however, occasions on which this is not the case. The underwriters are

then required to take the securities. Bankers and brokers are so anxious to be permitted to participate in these transactions under the lead of the inner group that as a rule they join when invited to do so, regardless of their approval of the particular business, lest by refusing they should thereafter cease to be invited.

It can hardly be expected that the banks, trust companies and other institutions that are thus seeking participations from this inner group would be likely to engage in business of a character that would be displeasing to the latter or that would interfere with their plans or prestige. And so the protection that can be offered by the member of this inner group constitutes the safest refuge of our great industrial combinations and railroad systems against future competition. The powerful grip of these gentlemen is upon the throttle that controls the wheels of credit and upon their signal those wheels will turn or stop.

In the case of the pending New York subway financing of \$170,000,000 of bonds by Messrs. Morgan & Co. and their associates, Mr. Davison estimated that there were from 100 to 125 such underwriters who were apparently glad to agree that Messrs. Morgan & Co., the First National Bank, and the National City Bank should receive 3 per cent—equal to \$5,100,000—for forming this syndicate, thus relieving themselves from all liability, whilst the underwriters assumed the risk of what the bonds would realize and of being required to take their share of the unsold portion.

This transaction furnishes a fair illustration of the basis on which this inner group is able to capitalize its financial power. Included among the underwriters are the banks and trust companies that are controlled by Messrs. Morgan, Baker, and Stillman under voting trusts, through stock ownerships, and in the other ways described. Thus they utilize this control for their own profit and that of the stockholders of the institutions. But the advantage to the depositors whose money and credit may be used in financing such enterprises is not apparent.

It may be that this recently concentrated money power so far has not been abused otherwise than in the possible exaction of excessive profits through absence of competition. Whilst no evidence of abuse has come to the attention of the committee from impartial sources, neither has there been adequate proof or opportunity for proof on the subject. Here again the data has not been available.

Sufficient has, however, been developed to demonstrate that neither potentially competing banking institutions or competing railroad or industrial corporations should be subject to a common source of private control.

Your committee is convinced that however well founded may be the insurances of good intentions by those now holding the places of power which have been thus created, the situation is fraught with too great peril to our institutions to be tolerated.

Factor of Increasing Concentration Admitted.

The resources of the banks and trust companies of the city of New York in 1911 were \$5,121,245,175, which is 21.73 per cent of the total banking resources of the country as reported to the Comptroller of the Currency. This takes no account of the unknown resources of the great private banking houses whose affiliations to the New York financial institutions we are about to discuss.

That in recent years concentration of control of the banking resources and consequently of credit by the group to which we will refer has grown apace in the city of New York, is defended by some witnesses and regretted by others, but acknowledged by all to be a fact.

As appears from statistics compiled by accountants for the committee, in 1911, of the total resources of the banks and trust companies in New York City, the 20 largest held 42.97 per cent; in 1906, the 20 largest held 38.24 per cent of the total; in 1901, 34.97 per cent.

Process of Concentration.

This increased concentration of control of money and credit has been effected principally as follows:

First, through consolidations of competitive or potentially competitive banks and trust companies, which consolidations in turn have recently been brought under sympathetic management.

Second, through the same powerful interests becoming large stockholders in potentially competitive banks and trust companies. This is the simplest way of acquiring control, but since it requires the largest investment of capital, it is the least used, although the recent investments in that direction for that apparent purpose amount to tens of millions of dollars in present market values.

Third, through the confederation of potentially competitive banks and trust companies by means of the system of interlocking directorates.

Fourth, through the influence which the more powerful banking houses, banks and trust companies have secured in the management of insurance companies, railroads, producing and trading corporations, and public utility corporations, by means of stockholdings, voting trusts, fiscal agency contracts, or representation upon their boards of directors, or through supplying the money requirements of railway, industrial and public utilities corporations and thereby being enabled to participate in the determination of their financial and business policies.

Fifth, through partnership or joint account arrangements between a few of the leading banking houses, banks and trust companies in the purchase of security issues of the great interstate corporations, accompanied by understandings of recent growth—sometimes called “banking ethics”—which have had the effect of effectually destroying competition between such banking houses, banks and trust companies in the struggle for business or in the purchase and sale of large issues of such securities.

Agents of Concentration.

It is a fair deduction from the testimony that the most active agents in forwarding and bringing about the concentration of control of money and credit through one or another of the processes above described have been and are—

J. P. Morgan & Co.

First National Bank of New York.

National City Bank of New York.

Lee, Higginson & Co., of Boston and New York.

Kidder, Peabody & Co., of Boston and New York.

Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Estimated Resources of Morgan & Co.

(From Report of the Pujo Committee, pages 86-87.)

The resources of Morgan & Co. are unknown; its deposits are \$163,000,000. The resources of the First National Bank are \$150,000,000 and those of its appendage, the First Security Company, at a very low estimate, \$35,000,000. The resources of the National City Bank are \$274,000,000; those of its appendage, the National City Company, are unknown, though the capital of the latter is alone \$10,000,000. Thus, leaving out of account the very considerable part which is unknown, the institutions com-

posing this group have resources of upward of \$632,000,000, aside from the vast individual resources of Messrs. Morgan, Baker and Stillman.

Further, as heretofore shown, the members of this group, through stock holdings, voting trusts, interlocking directorates, and other relations, have become in some cases the absolutely dominant factor, in others the most important single factor, in the control of the following banks and trusts companies in the city of New York:

| | |
|---|----------------|
| (a) Bankers Trust Co., resources..... | \$ 205,000,000 |
| (b) Guaranty Trust Co., resources..... | 232,000,000 |
| (c) Astor Trust Co., resources..... | 27,000,000 |
| (d) National Bank of Commerce, resources..... | 190,000,000 |
| (e) Liberty National Bank, resources..... | 29,000,000 |
| (f) Chase National Bank, resources..... | 150,000,000 |
| (g) Farmers Loan & Trust Co., resources..... | 135,000,000 |

In all 7, with total resources of.....\$ 968,000,000

which, added to the known resources of the group themselves makes\$1,600,000,000

as the aggregate of known banking resources in the city of New York under their control or influence.

If there be added also the resources of the Equitable Life Assurance Society controlled through the stock ownership of J. P. Morgan..... 504,000,000

the amount becomes\$2,104,000,000

NOTE: The Comptroller of the Currency, in his report for 1908, placed the total banking power of the United States at \$17,642,000,000.

5. Is There a Retailers' Trust?

(From "Wages and Prices of Commodities," Vol. I, Report of Committee and Views of Minority, Senate Document No. 847, page 119.)

Retailers' associations exist in practically all localities, and while they do not appear to be organized for the purpose of controlling prices, they undoubtedly do exert some influence in maintaining prices by making it impossible in many cases for the consumer to buy direct from wholesalers and also by enabling the trade to act as a unit in matters affecting retailers, and also by removing, to a considerable extent, competition.

The effect of all such organizations as the Elgin Board of Trade is to advance prices. The Elgin board practically controls the price of fancy Elgin butter produced throughout the Elgin butter district, which includes northern Illinois, southern Wisconsin and eastern Iowa. The board does not control the maximum price, but does establish the minimum price. The board consists of somewhat less than 300 members, and more than one-third of the number live in Chicago, and included in the number are two of the largest Chicago packing houses.

On Monday of each week a committee, consisting of five members of the board, and known as the "quotation committee," fixes the price at which settlement shall be made for all butter produced during the preceding week. The sales on the board of any butter before the meeting of the quotation committee may or may not be taken into consideration in arriving at a price.

Further Evidence of a Retailers' Trust.

(From "Concentration and Control," by Charles R. Van Hise, pages 81, 82 and 83. Published by The Macmillan Co.)

The retailers in a given city or community have an association either formal or informal, and there is among the members a definite understanding that prices shall be maintained. It makes no difference from what dealer one buys anthracite, or sugar, or bacon, or flour, or any other standard article, in the majority of the small towns and cities of the country, the price asked by each is the same, with possible slight variations in some cases. It may be that for a time a retailer will cut the price on some standard article in order to increase his trade, in which

case there is likely to be a cut by some other retailer on another standard line in order to equalize this advantage. But soon they get together and prices are again the same.

For some concerns which have a large part of the business of a town, either through a single retail shop or a number of them, an additional shop may be there established by this firm under another name, apparently in complete independence, in order that there may be an appearance of competition. From time to time, if there be danger of outside parties entering the field, the stool pigeon establishment may reduce prices under the direction of the controlling organization.

The extent to which there is combination among the retailers has led Professor Laughlin of the University of Chicago, before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, to testify that competition among retailers has completely broken down. Says he: "We do not have competition; it does not exist. Today there is really no competition between the retail men who sell meat or groceries to different classes of people."

While the statement is substantially true for most communities, it does not fully express the facts for all of them. There still exists competition in prices between the small shops and the great mail order houses. Indeed, this competition is so severe that it is feared by the ordinary retailers, who oppose vigorously a parcels post because they believe that this would make the mail order houses even more formidable competitors. Also there is competition between the small retailers and the great department stores; and since the latter have begun to introduce branch houses in this country as has been done extensively in England, the competition is likely to become more serious. Further, there is competition between the regular retailers and the co-operative stores; but in this country the latter are relatively few in number, although numerous in England.

A statement nearer the truth about the retail trade would be that competition in price for standard articles has ceased to exist between shops of the same class in the same community. The regular retailers' prices for a town are the same; the prices for the department stores are the same; the prices of the mail order houses are the same.

The following figures in the main bear out the contention that there is a "Retailers' Trust." From 1894 to 1900 prices decreased. The decrease, however, was considerably greater in wholesale than in retail prices. It is especially noteworthy that since 1905 when the retailers' combinations seem to have become firmly established, the increase in retail prices has been considerably greater every year than the increase in wholesale prices.

(From Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1911. Relative Wholesale and Retail Prices of Food, 1890-1907, page 559.)

| Calendar Year. | Relative wholesale prices of food. | Relative retail prices of food. | Calendar Year. | Relative wholesale prices of food. | Relative retail prices of food. |
|----------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1890..... | 112.4 | 102.1 | 1899..... | 98.3 | 99.6 |
| 1891..... | 115.7 | 103.4 | 1900..... | 104.2 | 101.5 |
| 1892..... | 103.6 | 101.8 | 1901..... | 105.9 | 105.5 |
| 1893..... | 110.2 | 104.1 | 1902..... | 111.3 | 110.9 |
| 1894..... | 99.8 | 100.3 | 1903..... | 107.1 | 110.9 |
| 1895..... | 94.6 | 98.2 | 1904..... | 107.2 | 111.6 |
| 1896..... | 83.8 | 95.8 | 1905..... | 108.7 | 112.5 |
| 1897..... | 87.7 | 96.3 | 1906..... | 112.6 | 116.2 |
| 1898..... | 94.4 | 98.5 | 1907..... | 117.8 | 120.7 |

(From Senate Document No. 847, Vol. I, page 40.)

The retail advance has exceeded the wholesale advance for practically all varieties of meats. Coffee, rice, sugar and beans declined at wholesale and advanced at retail. Sugar declined at both wholesale and retail, but the decline was much less at retail.

Retail and wholesale prices for the spring of 1910 as compared with the spring of 1900 are available for a few articles.

| | Per cent advance. |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Bacon— | |
| Wholesale | 128.9 |
| Retail | 73.3 |
| Flour, Wheat— | |
| Wholesale | 61.4 |
| Retail | 52.5 |
| Flour, Rye— | |
| Wholesale | 25.5 |
| Retail | 37.6 |
| Butter, Creamery— | |
| Wholesale | 29.4 |
| Retail | 46.4 |
| Sugar, Granulated— | |
| Wholesale | 4.5 |
| Retail | 11.6 |
| Molasses, New Orleans— | |
| Wholesale | 25.3 |
| Retail | 20.0 |
| Corn Meal— | |
| Wholesale | 78.2 |
| Retail | 56.3 |
| Rice— | |
| Wholesale | 1.1 |
| Retail | 25.0 |
| Eggs, Strictly Fresh— | |
| Wholesale | 61.8 |
| Retail | 133.3 |
| Lard— | |
| Wholesale | 126.2 |
| Retail | 109.1 |
| Cheese— | |
| Wholesale | 31.4 |
| Retail | 25.0 |

The retail price advanced less than the wholesale for bacon, wheat, flour, molasses, corn meal, lard and cheese. The retail price advanced more than the wholesale for butter, sugar, eggs, rye flour and rice. Remarkable advances in price are shown for bacon, eggs, corn meal and lard.

6. The Effects of Concentration.

(a) JUGGLING WITH PRICES.

(From the Chicago Tribune, September 9, 1913.)

During the month of August the price of butter went up 4 to 4½ cents a pound. The protesting housewife was told that the raise in price was due to a scarcity of butter. A scarcity there was, but it was artificially created.

What caused the scarcity of butter was this: 6,460,000 pounds of butter were withdrawn from the market during the month of August and were stored away in 42 cold storage houses at the principal marketing points. On August 1st, 43 of the principal cold storage houses in the country reported having 65,541,000 pounds of butter. On September 1st, 42 cold storage plants showed up with 72,001,000 pounds. The difference, 6,460,000 pounds, was added to these cold storage houses during the month of August—at the time when the housewife was told of a butter shortage and was made to pay an extra 4½ cents on every pound. The 42 cold storage houses supplying these figures are not, of course, the only ones that have added to their storage supply of butter during August. They are merely the ones who have reported having done so. There must have been many other plants, smaller ones, doing the same thing who have not reported their operations.

The raise in the price of butter during the month of August was therefore purely artificial. It was not a case of supply and demand regulating prices. There was no economic reason or law forcing butter up. It was forced up by speculators. Here, then, is one explanation for the high cost of living—arbitrary price-fixing for private greed. The government would do well to look into the methods of the cold storage houses and see if these citadels of speculation could not be thawed into relief for the outraged consumer.

Prices Held Up.

(From the Chicago Tribune.)

On June 10, 1913, there were shipped into Chicago several carloads of potatoes. The market was already supplied and the dealers were desirous of keeping up the price to 20 cents. The potatoes just shipped were supposed to be wholesaled for 20 cents a bushel. Rather than have the price disturbed, these many carloads of potatoes were dumped onto the tracks a few miles south of Chicago.

Chicago citizens continued to pay 20 cents.

It is claimed that there are now 1,000,000,000 eggs in storage—and prices are still soaring.—Charles Edward Russell in Pearson's Magazine, October, 1913.

(b) TRUST PRICES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

(From Senate Document No. 54, Sixty-first Congress, First Session.)

TABLE II.—Showing difference between export and home prices of certain specified articles.

[The prices are of date between January 1 and May 15, 1909, except in the case of a few of the items taken from the Payne Tariff Hearings, a few of which items are of 1908. Every price is of the same date as the other of the pair, export or domestic, in comparison with it.]

| Articles and description. | Export price. | Home price. | Difference. |
|--|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| | | | pr. ct. |
| Auger bits: Irwin's solid center, 4-16..... | | | |
|per doz.. | \$ 1.30 | \$ 1.80 | 39 |
| Bird cages, Hendryx's No. 316..... | 13.00 | 18.20 | 40 |
| Bolts: Carriage, 3/4 by 6 inches..... | .60 | .75 | 25 |
| Coffee mills, Enterprise, No. 1..... | 1.22 | 1.35 | 11 |
| Corn starch..... | 2.25 | 2.65 | 18 |
| Egg beaters, A. & J. Mfg. Co.'s..... | 12.15 | 17.64 | 45 |
| Ice picks, Walker's No. 104..... | .98 | 1.50 | 53 |
| Ice shaves, Walker's No. 52..... | 12.57 | 15.00 | 19 |
| Lamp chimneys: Macbeth's No. 502..... | .40 | .68 | 70 |
| Nails: | | | |
| Cut..... | per cwt.. 1.85 | 1.98 | 7 |
| Wire..... | per cwt.. 1.90 | 2.13 | 12 |
| Plumbs and levels, Disston No. 12..... | 6.82 | 10.08 | 72 |
| Pocket knife and tool kit, Ulery's..... | 1.15 | 1.50 | 30 |
| Rifles: | | | |
| Stevens' "Little Scout," No. 14..... | each.. 1.35 | 1.75 | 30 |
| Stevens' "Maynard Jr.," No. 14..... | each.. 1.80 | 2.20 | 22 |
| Saws: | | | |
| Disston's butcher, 24-inch, No. 7..... | per doz.. 8.50 | 11.90 | 40 |
| Disston's framed wood, No. 60..... | per doz.. 6.00 | 9.00 | 50 |
| Screw-drivers, Disston's elect., 12-in..... | per doz.. 1.36 | 1.86 | 37 |
| Shoe dressing: | | | |
| Whittemore's "Gilt Edge"..... | per doz.. 1.20 | 1.75 | 46 |
| Whittemore's "Baby Elite"..... | per doz.. .60 | .67 | 12 |
| Shotguns: | | | |
| Stevens' No. 107..... | each.. 3.00 | 4.50 | 50 |
| Stevens' No. 225..... | each.. 8.67 | 9.75 | 12 |
| Steel rails: | | | |
| Bessemer standard..... | per ton.. 25.85 | 28.00 | 8 |
| Open hearth standard..... | per ton.. 28.60 | 31.85 | 11 |
| Sugar, refined..... | per pound.. .026 | .0455 | 75 |
| Trowels, Disston's brick, 8-in., No. 1..... | per doz.. 4.07 | 6.00 | 47 |
| Watches: | | | |
| Elgin movement, 20-year gold-filled case..... | each.. 7.98 | 10.23 | 28 |
| Elgin movement, silveroid case..... | each.. 3.04 | 4.47 | 47 |
| Wheels, carriage: | | | |
| Plain grade "A"..... | per set of 4.. 8.00 | 11.25 | 41 |
| Sarvin patent, grade "A"..... | per set of 4.. 21.00 | 30.00 | 43 |
| (From report by the Tariff Reform Committee, October, 1904.) | | | |
| Brushes, painters', "A" quality, No. 2-O..... | doz.. \$ 3.20 | \$ 4.00 | 25 |
| Canned goods: | | | |
| Best Baltimore beans, No. 2 1/2..... | per doz.. .85 | 1.05 | 23 |
| Chairs, maple, cane seat, No. 2584..... | per doz.. 13.00 | 17.50 | 35 |
| Clocks, 8-day, Akron or Aldrich..... | each.. 1.50 | 2.00 | 33 |
| Condensed milk, Eagle brand..... | 5.50 | 6.25 | 15 |
| Cutlery, table knives and 3-prong forks, bone handles, No. 632, pairs..... | per gross.. 10.97 | 12.75 | 16 |
| Fountain pens, No. 12, plain..... | each.. 1.47 | 2.50 | 70 |
| Harness, one horse: | | | |
| Breast-collar, nickel, No. 2000..... | set.. 5.15 | 6.75 | 31 |
| Pencils, lead, fine, round..... | per gross.. 2.25 | 3.00 | 33 1/2 |
| Playing cards: | | | |
| Class "A," No. 999 Steamboat..... | per gross.. 4.28 | 10.00 | 134 |
| Plows, two-horse, Eagle W. & C..... | each.. 4.15 | 5.25 | 25 |
| Talking machines, Royal..... | each.. 7.50 | 15.00 | 100 |
| Vaseline, pomade, 5-pound cans..... | per can.. 1.08 | 1.40 | 30 |
| Watches, 18-karat gold, No. 2400, 18-size hunting case..... | each.. 40.00 | 50.00 | 25 |

(c) ENORMOUS DIVIDENDS.

Mining Dividends.

(Compiled from Mining World, Chicago.)

Copper Companies.

| Mines. | Dividends since organized. | Capitalization. |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Anaconda | \$ 41,400,000 | \$ 30,000,000 |
| Boston & Montana | 59,125,000 | 3,750,000 |
| Calumet & Hecla | 107,850,000 | 2,500,000 |
| Calumet & Arizona | 10,200,000 | |
| United Verde Copper | 26,545,300 | 3,000,000 |
| 18 other mines | 333,206,998 | 87,097,000 |

Gold, Silver and Lead.

| | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Homestake | \$ 17,336,150 | \$ 21,840,000 |
| Bunker Hill & Sullivan | 10,596,000 | 3,000,000 |
| Alaska Treadwell | 9,585,000 | 5,000,000 |
| Tonopah | 3,900,000 | 1,000,000 |
| Portland | 8,107,080 | 3,000,000 |

Zinc Mines.

| | | |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|
| New Jersey zinc | 12,000,000 | 10,000,000 |
| Six others | 13,062,500 | |

Quicksilver.

| | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|------------|
| California mine | \$ 1,070,000 | \$ 500,000 |
|-----------------------|--------------|------------|

Metallurgical Plant.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| American Smelting Company | \$ 44,581,523 | |
| United States Smelting Company | 6,079,302 | 7,500,000 |
| Six other plants | 79,776,537 | 187,126,850 |

Security Companies.

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Amalgamated Copper | \$ 57,235,139 | \$155,000,000 |
| Am. Smelters | 9,075,000 | 47,000,000 |
| Four companies | 241,266,000 | |

Profits of the Calumet and Hecla Mine.

(From Report on the Michigan Strike by Victor L. Berger, Charles Edward Russell and Seymour Stedman.)

Calumet and Hecla has made a larger annual profit on a smaller investment and for a longer period than any other similar enterprise in the United States, and possibly in the world. Fabulous fortunes have been built from its great profits. Its wealth may be gauged from the following facts taken from the sworn statements of the president of the company, also published in Copper Hand Book about it:

It has a capital stock of \$2,500,000, of which less than half, or only \$12 of each \$25 share, has ever been paid in. That is to say, the cash actually invested in it has been \$1,200,000. On this investment has been paid, to and including 1912, dividends to the amount of \$112,500,000, or \$1,125 a share, or about \$100 of profits for every dollar of investment. The annual report February 27, 1913, gave the value of each share as \$540, \$12 having been paid for it. The dividends in the last few years have been as follows:

| | Per cent. | | Per cent. |
|------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| 1897 | 160 | 1905 | 200 |
| 1898 | 200 | 1906 | 280 |
| 1899 | 400 | 1907 | 260 |
| 1900 | 280 | 1908 | 80 |
| 1901 | 180 | 1909 | 109 |
| 1902 | 100 | 1910 | 116 |
| 1903 | 140 | 1911 | 96 |
| 1904 | 160 | 1912 | 72 |

Besides these great profits, the salaries paid to officers and directors seem beyond all reason. The president of the company receives \$100,000 a year. Mr. McNaughton, in his capacity as vice-president, general manager and director, receives \$85,000 a year, the secretary and treasurer and each director draws \$20,000 a year.

In recent years the company has bought out of its surplus profits, and by issuing securities, a controlling interest in 17 other mining companies, and now, in addition to its huge dividends, earns the interest on \$8,519,000 of notes that it issued to aid in making these purchases.

Express Companies' Dividends.

(From Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, June 8, 1912.)

The total dividends paid by the 10 leading companies since 1854 have amounted to \$212,085,392.82.

While they have in addition:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Property and equipment amounting to..... | \$ 26,065,711.68 |
| Stocks owned | 50,575,881.16 |
| Funded debt owned | 54,416,468.97 |
| Other permanent investments | 15,611,311.16 |
| Cash and current assets..... | 36,574,253.85 |
| Other assets | 2,324,842.86 |

Or a total of assets amounting to.....\$185,568,469.68

Their sundry liabilities as of June 30, 1911,
amounted to\$37,277,847.77.

(From The Appeal's "Arsenal of Facts.")

Generalizing from these facts, it is a matter beyond contradiction that, beginning 60 years ago practically with no assets whatsoever other than favorable contracts with one or more railroads, the express companies have, out of their rates and the profitable investment of the proceeds of their operations, been enabled to pay large dividends upon shares representing no investment and amassed over \$150,000,000 of property.

The total cost of the real property and equipment used in operation by the ten express companies named in the tables as of June 30, 1911, as reported by the companies, amounted to \$26,065,712, and the operating income of the same companies for that year was \$9,319,486. In other words the investment returned 35.75 per cent. For the separate companies the return varies from 12.92 per cent for the United States Express Company to 434.18 per cent for the National Express Company, which with an investment of \$32,166 had an operating income of \$139,659.

Profits of Railroads.

(From "The Public Ownership of Railways," by Carl D. Thompson, pages 13-14.)

The net income of the railroads of this country taking their own words for it is enormous. And it is well known that there are many devices and wonderful ways of concealing incomes. The following table is made up from the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission and represents as nearly as we can get at it from their reports the net earnings or clear profits of the railroads, as reported by them during certain years.

After "all fixed and other charges are deducted and being the amount available for dividends or surplus."

| | | |
|-------------|----------|---------------|
| 1903..... | | \$357,033,579 |
| 1904.....p. | 77..... | 327,445,666 |
| 1905.....p. | 67..... | 327,090,387 |
| 1906.....p. | 155..... | 385,186,328 |
| 1907.....p. | 92..... | 449,461,188 |
| 1908.....p. | 65..... | 395,902,474 |

Four hundred million dollars every year! That is a tremendous sum to take out of the life and labor of a nation and put in the hands of a few great private corporations.

But that tells only a small part of the story. These vast incomes mean also a terrific concentration of wealth in the hands of a few money magnates.

With the tremendous development of railroads in the United States came the development of the vast fortunes which have overshadowed anything of their kind in all history. Great private fortunes and the power of vast accumulations had been known before but never until the great railway systems of the nation came into the hands of private owners did such tremendous concentration and accumulation occur.

Cornelius Vanderbilt piled up a fortune of \$105,000,000. Nothing like it had ever appeared before in a corresponding period of time. Probably nine-tenths of it came from the manipulation of railroads. ("History of Great American Fortunes," Meyers, Vol. XI, chapter III. ff.)

Jay Gould amassed a vast fortune estimated at hundreds of millions also largely wrung from the railroads of the country. ("History of Great American Fortunes," Meyers, Vol. II, chapter IX ff.) Such men may luxuriate in white marble palaces, build \$700,000 opera houses to supply themselves with amuse-

ment and "a permanent harem," ("Chapters of Erie" by Adams, pages 106-7) live in houses of thirty rooms, sleep in bedsteads that cost \$25,000 and pass their time in vast playrooms costing \$250,000 with private gymnasia, bowling alleys, swimming pool and great tanbark hippodromes ("History of American Fortunes," Meyers, Vol. III, pages 100-1).

The Great Northern railway system produced \$458,175,877 up to 1906 for Mr. James Hill and his associates, with which modest sum it is to be hoped Mr. Hill has since been able to keep the wolf of high cost of living from the door ("Stories of the Great Railroads," by Charles Edward Russell, page 78). The Central and Southern Pacific railway systems were made to produce over \$700,000,000 of unearned and unjust profits which were poured into the coffers of Mr. C. P. Huntington of California and his associates.

The way this vast sum has been taken out of the people of the western states and handed over to these few multi-millionaires is graphically summarized by Mr. Russell ("Story of the Great Railroads," page 279) as follows:

"The table does not show the total production of the millionaire-mill: probably no human mind can trace, formulate and accurately state what that production has been. It shows only a part of the wealth that without return of any kind, we have freely bestowed upon this unparalleled institution:

CENTRAL PACIFIC.

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Government land grant, minimum..... | \$ 30,000,000 |
| Unearned dividends in stocks..... | 34,000,000 |
| Capitalized interest on subsidy bonds..... | 30,700,000 |
| Common stock (representing no investment)..... | 67,275,500 |
| Bonus on bonds..... | 16,819,000 |

Total\$178,794,500

SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Government land grant, minimum..... | \$ 40,000,000 |
| Donations by California councils..... | 1,002,000 |
| Mission Bay, donated by State..... | 9,500,000 |
| Capital stock (representing no investment)..... | 160,000,000 |
| Dividends thereon | 30,400,000 |

Total\$240,902,000

SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY OF KENTUCKY.

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Government land grant with Morgan purchase..... | \$ 13,000,000 |
| Surplus capitalized (see report 1913)..... | 100,081,022 |
| Stock acquired under early leases..... | 76,000,000 |

Grand total.....\$608,777,522

Even the vast fortunes of the Rockefellers, though starting in the oil industry, very soon entered the railroad field, and has reached its present stupendous power through railroad manipulation more than in any other way.

John D. Rockefeller's income is estimated at from two to six millions of dollars a month. Even if it dwindled down to a paltry \$100,000 per day he wouldn't need to worry about the rent and would have some left at the end of the year to buy up a railroad or two. The matter of founding a great university only takes a month's "salary" now and then and the mighty accumulation goes on. "The money piles up on his doorsteps like a snowstorm, four or five thousand dollars an hour, day and night, \$600,000 or more a week, and it must be invested" (Parson's "Railways, Trusts and the People," page 13). It is invested—in more railroads. More railroads mean more profits, which in turn must again be invested. And thus on to the climax.

There are now but five of six great railroad groups in the United States. These are rapidly merging into one—and there is reason to believe that it is only a matter of time till the whole railway system of America, by far the greatest in the world, will be dominated by a single interest, perhaps by a single individual.

Such is the tremendous cumulative power of privately owned railways. Nothing approaching it has ever occurred before in the world's history.

Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Profits.

(From the Saturday Evening Post of February 1, 1913.)

The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western is merely a railroad—not a system. It has never been reorganized, consolidated, expanded or financed. It was built from the proceeds of its capital stock and has no bonds. It traverses a rich territory and is reasonably prosperous, paying its stockholders 10 per cent a year in regular cash dividends. In 1909 it gave them in addition an extra cash privilege to subscribe at par to some coal stock which later sold at \$200 a share and now pays 10 per cent dividends. Including this privilege, Lackawanna's shareholders' melon that year amounted to about 200 per cent, or \$2 for every dollar of par value of their stock.

The next year was comparatively lean, shareholders receiving only 20 per cent in cash dividends.

In 1911 shareholders received, in addition to the regular 10 per cent, an extra cash dividend of 10 per cent and a 35 per cent dividend in 4 per cent guaranteed stock.

In 1912 shareholders were given the privilege of subscribing at par to 40 per cent of new stock, the right being equivalent to a dividend of 138 per cent—making altogether something like 400 per cent in four years.

Of course, Lackawanna is quite exceptional among railroads—partly because it has been merely a railroad rather than a subject for dazzling manipulations in Wall Street.

Standard Oil Company's Profits.

(From "Concentration and Control," by Charles R. Van Hise, pages 109-110. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

The total dividends paid by the Standard Oil Company from 1882 to 1906 were over \$550,000,000, on an average over \$22,000,000 a year. This, however, does not represent the total net earnings, since there were large accumulations not declared as dividends. From 1882 to 1896 the profits on the capital stock and trust certificates average about 19 per cent. In 1903 they had reached 83 per cent and the average from 1903 to 1905 was about 68 per cent, annually. The total profits from 1897 to 1906 are believed to be somewhere from \$790,000,000 to \$850,000,000; and this upon properties the value of which originally aggregated not more than \$75,000,000. These figures show that after monopoly was obtained and improvements made in transportation and manufacturing, it was possible because of this situation to secure these enormous profits.

It is notable that excessive profits came about, not by taking any very large amount from a single gallon of oil, not more than two or three cents, and yet these two or three cents multiplied by the enormous number of gallons used by the people of the United States led to the vast profits above given. The Standard Oil industry very well illustrates the principle that if a commodity is widely needed, even if one family uses a relatively small amount, and the average annual tribute levied upon that family is small, if there be a moderate excess beyond that of a fair price, the total illegitimate profits of the organization may be fabulous; not only so, but the accumulation of these enormous profits in the hands of a few men may enable them to invest in other lines of business which have monopolistic elements, and they thus gain a commanding influence in the industry of the country. It is well known that the excessive profits which have gone to the owners of the Standard Oil Company have enabled them to enter many other great lines of business, so that they, with their railroads, industrial organizations, trust companies and banks are one of the two great

dominating centers which in large measure control the money of the United States.

Money Grows Like Mushroom.

Sum of \$396,171 Invested in Standard Oil Increases 1,000 Per Cent in Twenty-two Years.

(From the Chicago Tribune, October 18, 1913.)

New York, October 18.—The way in which money grows was illustrated today by the report of Referee J. Campbell Thompson to the Supreme Court in the matter of the trust fund for the benefit of Albert C. Bostwick.

In 1890 Jabez A. Bostwick placed in the hands of the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, Standard Oil securities to the value of \$296,171 for the benefit of his son Albert.

When Albert died last November the securities were worth \$1,642,611. During his lifetime the younger Bostwick drew from the fund the additional sum of \$1,022,227. So that the total amount produced by the stock was \$2,664,838. The increase in value is nearly 1,000 per cent.

Profits of U. S. Steel Corporation.

(Earnings and Investment as Computed by the Bureau of Corporations.)

From summary of the report of Commissioner Smith, July 1, 1911:

From Senate Document No. 54, Sixty-first Congress, First Session.

| Year ended Dec. 31— | Total investment | Earnings. | Per Ct. |
|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------|
| | in tangible property. | Amount. | |
| 1901 <i>a</i> | \$ 698,869,756 | <i>a</i> \$ 77,741,231 | 614.8 |
| 1902 | 763,574,919 | 121,502,344 | 15.9 |
| 1903 | 806,615,979 | 94,156,958 | 11.7 |
| 1904 | 818,238,143 | 62,491,950 | 7.6 |
| 1905 | 874,840,920 | 112,830,835 | 12.9 |
| 1906 | 947,397,884 | 143,393,707 | 15.1 |
| 1907 | 1,078,763,602 | 155,416,873 | 14.4 |
| 1908 | 1,090,425,487 | 84,793,296 | 7.8 |
| 1909 | 1,146,875,993 | 120,807,579 | 10.5 |
| 1910 | 1,186,982,038 | 127,216,084 | 10.7 |

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| Total | 1,100,350,857 | .... |
| Average | 941,258,472 | <i>c</i> 112,856,498 12.0 |

a Nine months, April to December; investment includes additions during this period.

b Indicated rate per annum based on actual earnings for nine months.

c Average yearly profits for nine and three-fourths years.

Profits of the Tobacco Trust.

(From "Concentration and Control," by Charles R. Van Hise, page 145. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

After the formation of the reorganized American Tobacco Company in 1904, the average earnings upon actual investments to 1908 were 19 per cent, or \$31,200,000 yearly; and this upon the basis of a capitalization of \$316,000,000, which was reached by several manipulations, each with great expansion of the stock and bonds.

The combination was greatly assisted in securing these enormous profits through changes in the internal revenues. In 1898, as a result of the Spanish War, taxes were greatly increased upon tobacco and prices were raised accordingly. In 1901-1902 this tax was reduced to its former level; but by this time the combination had become sufficiently powerful to hold up prices, so that practically all of the advantage of the reduction of the tax on the manufactured tobacco from twelve cents to six cents per pound went, not to the consumer, but to the combination, in this way adding many millions to its income.

The enormous profits of the combination were thus due largely to the following causes: The reduction of the Spanish War tax, the capitalization of the good will of the business at each consolidation or reorganization, putting in surplus to increase the capital stock, exchanging at inflated values at times of reorganization and issuing common stock as a bonus.

Profits of Banks.

Based upon the reports of a number of banks to the government officials for the period of five years, beginning January 1, 1906, and ending December 31, 1910:

| | Total gains for 5 years. Per cent. | Average per year. Per cent. |
|---|--|-----------------------------------|
| First National Bank, Chicago..... | 153.25 | 30.65 |
| First National Bank, Wheeling, W. Va..... | 212.50 | 42.50 |
| First National Bank of Richmond, Va..... | 217.25 | 43.45 |
| First National Bank, New York City..... | 217.28 | 43.45 |
| National Bank of Commerce, Norfolk, Va..... | 235 | 48 |
| The National Bank of Virginia, Richmond... | 256.30 | 51.26 |
| The Rhode Island Hospital & Trust Co., Providence (Doing a banking business)..... | 264 | 52.80 |
| Springfield National Bank, Springfield, Mass.. | 275 | 55 |
| First National Bank, Boston, Mass..... | 355 | 71.10 |
| The Northern National Bank, Toledo, Ohio.... | 379.10 | 75.82 |
| The Norfolk National Bank, Norfolk, Va.... | 394.51 | 78.90 |
| The Lowry National Bank, Atlanta, Ga..... | 420 | 84 |
| The Corn Exchange National Bank, Phila., Pa. | 437.50 | 87.50 |
| Traders' National Bank, Spokane, Wash..... | 500 | 100 |
| The Nassau National Bank of Brooklyn, N. Y. | 556.65 | 111.33 |
| The National Bank of Syracuse, N. Y..... | 559.60 | 111.92 |

PART IV.

LABOR UNDER CAPITALISM

1. Number of Persons Employed in Specified Occupations.
Distribution, as Men, Women and Children, of Persons Engaged
in Gainful Occupations and in Each Main Class, 1900.
(United States Census Reports, 1900.)

| Classes of occupations, 1900 | Total persons gainfully occu- pied. | MEN | |
|------------------------------------|---|------------|------|
| | | Number. | Pct. |
| All occupations | 29,073,233 | 22,489,425 | 77.3 |
| Agricultural pursuits | 10,381,765 | 8,549,739 | 82.4 |
| Professional service | 1,258,538 | 826,096 | 65.7 |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 5,580,657 | 3,348,159 | 60.0 |
| Trade and transportation..... | 4,766,964 | 4,163,443 | 87.3 |
| Manufact'g and mechanical pursuits | 7,085,309 | 5,601,988 | 79.1 |

| WOMEN. | | BOYS. | | GIRLS. | |
|-----------|------|-----------|------|---------|------|
| Number. | Pct. | Number. | Pct. | Number. | Pct. |
| 4,833,630 | 16.6 | 1,264,411 | 4.4 | 485,767 | 1.7 |
| 770,055 | 7.4 | 854,690 | 8.2 | 207,281 | 2.0 |
| 429,497 | 34.1 | 1,845 | 0.1 | 1,100 | 0.1 |
| 1,953,467 | 35.0 | 137,049 | 2.5 | 141,982 | 2.5 |
| 481,159 | 10.1 | 100,174 | 2.1 | 22,188 | 0.5 |
| 1,199,452 | 16.9 | 170,653 | 2.4 | 113,216 | 1.6 |

2. The Division Into Classes.

(a) THE THREE PRINCIPAL CLASSES.

(Morris Hillquit in "Socialism, Promise or Menace," by Hillquit and Ryan; 1914. The Macmillan Co.)

According to the census of 1900, the total number of persons, ten years old and over, engaged in gainful occupations in the United States was a little over 29,000,000.

Of the persons engaged in manufacture, 5,373,108 were classified as "wage earners," while 708,738 were designated as proprietors and firm members. According to the Report on Manufactures of 1909, 63.2 per cent of the manufacturing establishments produced less than \$20,000 per annum, while the remaining 36.8 per cent produced upward of \$20,000. Let us classify the proprietors of the former as "small producers," or "middle class" manufacturers, and those of the latter as "large producers," or capitalists. On this basis we obtain approximately 254,810 capitalists and 447,928 members of the middle class in the manufacturing industries.

For the 10,472,011 persons enumerated under the two heads of "Domestic and Personal Service" and "Trade and Transportation" the census does not give a similar division by classes, the sub-enumerations of specific operations furnish a tolerably reliable guide to the economic status of the persons engaged in them.

Thus we may consider as capitalists all persons designated as bankers and brokers, officials of banks and companies, and wholesale merchants and dealers. To the hybrid middle class we may relegate all small independent business men, such as barbers; hotel, restaurant, boarding house, livery stable and saloon keepers; retail merchants; "hucksters and peddlers," and even undertakers; also all individuals engaged in professional and semi-professional service, including free practitioners, clerks, bookkeepers, foremen, commercial travelers, agents, soldiers, policemen and housekeepers.

The column of "wage earners" will be made up exclusively of hired manual laborers.

The agricultural population consisted of 10,410,877 persons. Of these about 4,530,000 were "farm hands" or other hired

laborers, while the remainder consisted of "farm operators." Only 527,637 farms had an area of 260 acres or more. We will assume that each of these farms had a separate owner, and will consider such big-farm owners as agricultural capitalists, classifying the owners or cultivators of the smaller sized farms with the all-embracing "middle class."

On this basis we reach the following class division of the active American population:

CAPITALISTS.

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Manufacturing and Mechanical..... | 254,810 |
| Trade and Transportation | 189,675 |
| Farmers | 527,637 |
| Total | 972,122 |

MIDDLE CLASS.

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| Manufacturing and Mechanical..... | 447,928 |
| Trade and Transportation..... | 2,242,397 |
| Domestic and Personal Service..... | 790,834 |
| Professional Service (all)..... | 1,258,538 |
| Farmers | 5,880,877 |
| Total | 10,620,574 |

WAGE EARNERS.

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| Manufacturing and Mechanical..... | 5,373,108 |
| Trade and Transportation..... | 2,334,892 |
| Domestic and Personal Service..... | 4,789,823 |
| Farm Laborers | 4,530,000 |
| Total | 17,027,823 |

To complete our calculations we must add the "unemployed" of both classes, capitalists and wage workers. To be generous with the former we will assume that one-third of their total number follow the sole and exclusive vocation of being idle, while two-thirds are engaged in some "gainful" occupation—thus adding another 500,000, in round figures, to their numbers. On the other hand, the number of wage earners enumerated in the census is based on the "average" actually employed on specified days, and does not take into account the workers temporarily or permanently without jobs. Since the number of persons unemployed during some time of the year amounted, according to the same census, to no less than 6,468,964, it is safe to add an average of 1,500,000 to the column of wage workers.

Thus the total number of American capitalists does not exceed in round numbers 1,500,000; that of the "middle classes" may reach about 10,500,000, while the number of wage workers must be conservatively estimated at about 18,500,000.

Twenty-three Million Possible Socialists.

Of the 30,500,000 persons figuring in our estimate, only 1,500,000 are unquestioned beneficiaries of the capitalist system and interested in its continuation; 18,500,000 are its victims and economically interested in its abrogation. Of the remaining 10,500,000 persons, designated as the middle class or classes, the majority are in revolt against the existing system. More than a third of the American farmers are mere tenants whose lot is often worse than that of the wage worker, and the greater part of the farm owners are exploited by the mortgagees, railroad companies and other capitalistic agencies almost as much as the wage worker. The professional men and "salaried" employes likewise feel the burdens of economic pressure weighing on them ever more heavily under Capitalism. It is safe to assert that at least one-half of the persons embraced within the general category of the "middle classes" are justly dissatisfied with their conditions. •

Adding these to the number of the wage workers, we obtain about 23,750,000 persons, or about 78 per cent of the entire active population, who are materially interested in a change of the present economic order and may be regarded as possible candidates for enlistment in the Socialist movement.

(b) THE WORKERS CLASSIFIED BY OCCUPATION.

(W. J. Ghent in National Socialist Handbook No. 2.)

There are as yet no detailed occupation statistics for the census of 1910. The figures, however, can be estimated with tolerable certainty. The percentage of the population engaged in gainful occupations was 34.7 in 1880, 37.2 in 1890, 38.2 in 1900. For 1910 it can hardly be less than 40 per cent. If this percentage obtains, the number will be found to have grown from 29,073,233 in 1900 to about 36,800,000 in 1910.

The census tables are not in such form that the proportion of wage earners to all other gainful occupations can be accurately determined. This is a matter for the individual statistician and, of course, computations will differ. Mr. Lucien Sanial figured out 20,393,137 wage earners in the 1900 census. W. J. Ghent's computations give 20,234,851. If the latter figures are correct, the percentage is 69.60. Assuming that the percentage for the last census will be found to be 70, the number of wage earners in 1910 was 25,760,000.

The total persons in gainful occupations in 1900 were divided by classes as follows:

| Classes. | Number. | Per cent. |
|------------------------------|------------|-----------|
| Greater capitalists | 364,978 | 1.25 |
| Lesser capitalists | 1,456,258 | 5.01 |
| Professional class | 1,258,538 | 4.33 |
| Farm owners and tenants..... | 5,758,308 | 19.81 |
| Working class | 20,234,851 | 69.60 |
| Total | 29,073,233 | 100.00 |

The groups in the working class, with the per cent of increase over 1890, were as follows:

| Groups. | Per cent of Increase | Number. |
|--|----------------------|------------|
| Clerical and distributive workers..... | 48.4 | 3,825,375 |
| Mechanical, manufacturing and mining workers | 23.8 | 6,538,147 |
| Personal and domestic workers..... | 26.3 | 2,618,910 |
| Farm and rural workers..... | 44.7 | 4,623,157 |
| General workers | 37.4 | 2,620,262 |
| Total | 34.4 | 20,234,851 |

The officials of the census of 1900 believe that approximately 582,522 children engaged in farm labor were omitted from enumeration in 1890.

In the new figures there will doubtless be a decline, as there was in the previous decade, in the relative number of workers in mechanical, manufacturing and mining jobs, since the statistics of all capitalist countries show a relative decrease in the number of persons who make things, as compared with those who sell, handle and transport things and render other kinds of service. In other respects the new figures will probably show about the same relative standing of the groups as has been shown for 1900.

(c) WORKERS AND IDLERS.

(From Appeal to Reason's "Arsenal of Facts," 1914.)

The population of continental United States in 1900 was 75,994,575. The number of persons engaged in gainful occupations was 29,073,233, or 38.3 per cent of the total population. In other words, a trifle more than one-third of the people in the United States did all the work which created the wealth to support the entire population. Nearly two-thirds of the people created no wealth for their own support.

There were 58,224,600 persons who were ten years of age and over. Those engaged in gainful occupations were almost exactly one-half (50.2 per cent) of this number. **Therefore, one-half of the population ten years of age and over created no wealth for its own support.**

Of the 10,381,765 persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, 4,410,877 were agricultural laborers, and 5,674,875 were farmers,

planters and overseers. It is, of course, certain that a great many of those who are classed as farmers, planters and overseers produce no wealth and perform no really useful function in industry. They are merely profit takers, parasites upon industry rather than wealth producers. Nevertheless, it is impossible to make any separation between useful and non-useful members of this general class, and we may roughly assume that all of those engaged in agricultural pursuits are wealth producers.

The 1,258,538 persons engaged in professional service constitute a serving class, many of whom perform service that is socially necessary, and although none of them produce wealth, society gladly supports the class as a whole for the service it performs. This class includes doctors, lawyers, actors, artists, musicians, clergymen, teachers, etc. They are not wealth producers, merely consumers.

Among the 5,580,687 persons engaged in domestic and personal service there are no producers and many actual destroyers of wealth, as well as thousands of absolutely useless functionaries. This class includes soldiers, sailors and marines (army and navy), saloonkeepers, bartenders and 1,560,721 servants and waiters. The class as a whole consumes and destroys much wealth and produces absolutely nothing.

The 4,766,964 persons engaged in trade and transportation constitute, in the main, a necessary class performing a social service in distributing the wealth produced by others. This class includes agents, bankers and brokers, merchants, salesmen, commercial travelers, stenographers and typewriters, bookkeepers and accountants, sailors, hackmen and draymen, teamsters, railroad employes, telegraph and telephone operators, etc. Many of these persons would find their occupations gone under a rational system of industry, but under the existing system they perform useful and necessary labor; nevertheless, they are essentially consumers of wealth, not producers.

Among the 7,085,309 persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits there are many real wealth producers. Thousands of them, of course, are engaged in the production of entirely useless articles, made solely to supply a fictitious competitive demand—articles which would not be manufactured at all were it not for the profit derived from them. In the printing trades, for instance, thousands of printers, pressmen, lithographers, papermakers, etc., are kept busy supplying the enormous mass of competitive advertising, the vast majority of which is pure waste and entirely useless. Nevertheless, as is the case with those engaged in agricultural pursuits, it is impossible in this class to separate the producers from the non-producers.

Roughly speaking, therefore, we may take the 17,467,074 persons engaged in these two principal classes of occupations as representative of all the wealth producers in the nation, the persons upon whom the entire population depends for food, clothing and shelter.

This number constitutes but 22.9 per cent of the entire population and but 30.1 of the population ten years of age and over. And it should not be forgotten that of these 17,467,074 wealth producers, 3,415,347, or 19.5 per cent of the whole number, were women and children.

(d) UNNECESSARY OCCUPATIONS.

Are All These Necessary?

(From United States Census of 1900.)

| | |
|---|---------|
| Lawyers | 114,460 |
| Saloonkeepers | 83,764 |
| Soldiers, sailors and marine (U. S.)..... | 43,195 |

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc..... | 130,590 |
| Agents | 241,162 |
| Bankers and brokers | 73,227 |
| Commercial travelers | 92,919 |
| Servants and waiters | 1,560,721 |
| Bookkeepers and accountants | 254,880 |
| Clerks and copyists | 630,127 |
| Merchants, dealers (except wholesale)..... | 790,886 |
| Hucksters and peddlers | 76,649 |
| Merchants and dealers (wholesale)..... | 42,326 |
| Messengers, errand and office boys..... | 71,622 |
| Officials of banks and companies..... | 74,072 |
| Salesmen and saleswomen | 611,139 |
| Total | 4,891,739 |

(e) WHAT CHANCE HAS A WORKINGMAN TO BECOME A CAPITALIST?

(From "Financing the Wage Earner's Family," by Prof. Scott Nearing, pages 13-14. Published by B. W. Huebsch.)

The maximum amount of income which the workingman may earn is limited. To be sure, there is always a possibility of the workingman rising out of the ranks of the workers and becoming a manager or a capitalist. The existence of this chance to rise has never been questioned, though its mathematical boundaries are not always understood. Consider, for example, one of the greatest single industries in the United States, the Railroad Industry, employing nearly a million and three-quarters of men. What are the possibilities for advancement in this industry as shown by the statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission?

There were, in 1910, 5,476 general officers directing the activities of the million and three-quarters employees. Therefore, in the business life of the general officer and the business life of the employe, each employe should have one chance in three hundred of becoming a general officer at some time during his life, provided that the employes live as long as the general officers, and provided further that all the general officers are drawn from the ranks of the employes. Neither of these assumptions, however, is correct, because, in the first place, insurance tables indicate that the life of the general officer is somewhat longer than the life of the average workingman. In the second place, the general officers are not always drawn from the ranks. Leaving these two considerations out of account, however, it is apparent that the mathematical probability that the average railroad employe will become a general officer is about one-third of one per cent.

Consider another phase of the situation. Suppose that you are a railroad trainman. Mathematically you have one chance in three hundred of becoming a general officer at some time during your life. On the other hand, you have one chance in twenty of being injured, and one chance in one hundred and twenty of being killed during each year that you are at work.

Suppose that your total term of service is twenty years, the chances are one to one that during that time you will be injured and one to six that during that time you will be killed; so that the chance of your being injured is three hundred times as great, and of your being killed is fifty times as great as your chance of becoming a general officer in the company which is employing you.

A similar condition exists in the manufacturing industries.

In short, the tendency of modern industry is toward a form of organization which will require the wage worker to remain a wage worker. The railroad does not expect a brakeman to become president or general manager, but instead to become a conductor. In the same way, section hands make section foremen, and locomotive firemen make locomotive engineers. The railroad manager is not looking for an engineer who will make

a general superintendent, but for an engineer who will be and will remain a good engineer.

3. Hand and Machine Labor.

The Decrease in the Cost of Making Shoes. Who Profits?

(From the New York Herald, January 1, 1912.)

Facts obtained by Herald reporters in the various shoe manufacturing centers of New England show that 90 per cent of the men who have gone into the business of shoe manufacturing have become wealthy, and that many of them started with barely sufficient capital to pay for the lights in their factory buildings.

Modern shoe manufacturing machinery has made cuts in the cost of production that are astonishing. Before the introduction of machinery the cost of making a pair of shoes that sold for from \$6.50 to \$7 a pair was from \$2.80 to \$2.90. Added to this, of course, was the cost of material. The cost of making shoes which sell today at from \$3 to \$7 a pair is between 60 and 70 cents. In the last ten years the cost of production has been lowered at least ten cents a pair, declares a manufacturer who has been in business for 35 years.

(From Appeal's "Arsenal of Facts," 1914.)

The following table is compiled from the Thirteenth Annual Labor Report, which presents in detail the results of an investigation by the United States Labor Commissioner, showing the difference in time required to produce a certain number of units of manufacture by the hand process and by the machine process. The report is out of print. This table is valuable and should be preserved. With it you can discover at a glance the difference in the two methods, and you will begin to understand why the owners of the machines wax rich while the worker struggles to live. For instance, under the old hand method it required 118 hours to make one landslide plow. Today, with modern machinery, it requires less than four hours. The worker today produces 30 plows in the same length of time it formerly required to make one plow. If he worked in the good old days for \$1 a day, it cost his boss about \$11 in wages. Today he gets \$2 a day and in eleven days gets \$22 in wages. For this outlay on the part of the capitalist he gets 30 plows. In other words, the capitalist doubles the wage fund and increases his wealth 30 times—or, assuming that plows have decreased one-half in price, he still has wealth 15 times greater than did his predecessor. The laborer gets for his \$2 today just what his father got for \$1—"his board and keep." Go down the list and you will grasp the significance of the figures and will know the secret of capitalist accumulation:

Manufacture.

| | —Hours— | |
|---|---------------|----------------|
| | Hand mthd. | Mchn. mthd. |
| Pitchforks—50 pitchforks, 12-inch tines..... | 200 | 12 |
| Plow—1 landslide plow, oak beams and handles..... | 118 | 3 |
| Bags—5,000 cotton flour sacks..... | 137 | 28 |
| Bookbinding—500 12mo. books, 320 pages, full cloth.. | 228 | 59 |
| Shoes—10 pairs men's fine grade, calf, welt, lace shoes, single soles, soft box toes..... | 222 | 29 |
| Boxes—1,000 strawboard, paper-covered, shoe boxes, 11½x6x3½ in. | 228 | 34 |
| Crackers—1,000 lbs. graham crackers, packed..... | 160 | 35 |
| Carpet—200 yards ingrain carpet, cotton warp, wool filling, 1,088 ends, 26 picks per inch..... | 151 | 64 |
| Carriage—1 elliptic spring, leather top buggy, piano body, dropped axles, banded hubs, cloth trimmings | 200 | 39 |
| Watch cases—10 gold hunting watch cases, 18 size, engine turned, "Barleycorn shield" pattern..... | 174 | 35 |
| Watch movements—1 key-wind, brass hunting watch movement, 18 size, full plate..... | 195 | 5 |
| Combs—1 gross horn dressing combs, 7x7¾ inches, coarse and fine, teeth 1¼ inches..... | 66 | 12 |
| Barrels—100 flour barrels, patent hoops..... | 50 | 22 |

| | —Hours— | |
|---|------------|-------------|
| | Hand mthd. | Mchn. mthd. |
| Rope—30 pounds $\frac{3}{8}$ -inch hemp bailing rope..... | 134 | 17 |
| Corsets—1 dozen medium sateen corsets, 17 eyelets in back | 210 | 18 |
| Hatchets—12 dozen No. 2 shingling hatchets, 22 pounds per dozen | 191 | 54 |
| Firearms—1 double-barreled, breech-loading, hammerless shotgun | 202 | 58 |
| Pamphlets—Printing and binding 4,000 pamphlets, 32 pages, $3\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches | 234 | 5 |
| Newspapers—Printing and folding 36,000 pages..... | 216 | 1 |
| Lithography—Printing 1,000 sheets art work, 19x28 inches, 6 colors | 281 | 5 |
| Typesetting—100,000 ems, newspaper work..... | 209 | 45 |
| Envelopes—50,000 No. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ plain white envelopes.... | 217 | 15 |
| Butter—500 pounds, in tubs | 125 | 12 |
| Shirts—1 dozen white muslin shirts plaited linen bosoms, linen-covered collars and cuffs attached.. | 119 | 15 |
| Lounges—12 oak frame, round end, plush-covered lounges, 69x23 inches, antique finish..... | 246 | 46 |
| Harness—1 set double coach harness, traces 10 stitches per inch | 234 | 40 |
| Agriculture. | | |
| Barley—100 bushels | 211 | 9 |
| Corn—50 bushels, shelled, stalks, husks and blades cut into fodder | 228 | 34 |
| Corn—50 bushels, husked, stalks left in field..... | 48 | 18 |
| Cotton—Seed cotton, 1,000 pounds | 223 | 78 |
| Hay—Harvesting and baling 8 tons timothy..... | 284 | 92 |
| Oats—160 bushels | 265 | 28 |
| Potatoes—500 bushels | 247 | 86 |
| Rice—10,000 pounds rough | 235 | 64 |
| Rye—100 bushels | 251 | 100 |
| Strawberries—500 quarts | 216 | 84 |
| Sweet potatoes—50 bushels | 151 | 58 |
| Tomatoes—100 bushels | 216 | 89 |
| Wheat—50 bushels | 160 | 7 |
| Mining. | | |
| Coal—50 tons bituminous | 171 | 94 |
| Transportation, Etc. | | |
| Loading grain—Transferring 6,000 bushels wheat from storage bins or elevators to vessel..... | 222 | 53 |
| Loading ore—Loading 100 tons iron ore on cars..... | 200 | 2 |
| Unloading coal—Transferring 200 tons from canal boats to bins 400 feet distant..... | 240 | 20 |
| Unloading cotton—Transferring 200 bales from vessel to dock | 240 | 75 |

4. Exploitation of Labor.

(a) THE DIFFICULTY OF SECURING RELIABLE INFORMATION—GOVERNMENT STATISTICS VAGUE AND INDEFINITE.

Government statistics are in some respects an example of the fine art of concealing essential facts.

The government spends hundreds of thousands of dollars of the people's money in making elaborate investigations and publishing interminable tables of statistics. But when it comes to getting at the actual and most essential facts with regard to the capitalistic system, there is always something lacking. A foot-note explains why just the particular point you want isn't there, and warns you against using the figures as a basis for any definite knowledge.

In other words, the ponderous volumes of government bulletins very often amount to telling you millions of things about a thousand subjects that you care nothing about, but fail to give you the one particular and essential thing that you do want to know.

A fine illustration of this is the case of the Thirteenth Census Bulletin for 1910 on Manufactures.

The one particular thing about which the people of these United States would like to know more than anything else is, just what the profits of these 268,491 establishments were in the various years reported.

The tables do not tell.

We might not complain if we were even able, in a definite way, to get at two items: First, the actual cost of the production, and, second, the value of the product when sold. But even this is denied to us. There is a long row of eleven figures which

claims to state "the value of the products." There is another row of eleven figures that are alleged to state "the expenses." But a foot-note on the preceding page warns us "Census data did not show the entire cost of manufacture and consequently can not be used to show profits." Now, the ordinary person would be inclined to ask, What is the use of attempting to state the cost of manufacture if the cost of manufacture is not stated? Maybe the government statisticians will explain this to us some time in the dim, distant future. Or, again, one would be inclined to ask, What is the use of attempting to state the expenses involved in the manufacture if the expenses are not going to be stated?

In one foot-note the bulletin states, "Under 'expense' are included all items of expense incident to the year's business, except interest, whether on bonds or other forms of indebtedness, and allowances for depreciation." But in another foot-note we are told that the value of the products means their selling value at the factory, from which it is evident that the value of the products is not their value at all, but a sort of an estimate of what they are worth. How much these goods were sold for the census bulletin sayeth not. It does not know. Yet that is the one thing we all would like to know.

And not knowing this, the tables are almost useless. Useless at least upon the particular point which is of most concern to the people of this nation, namely, just how much profit did these 268,491 establishments with their \$18,453,080,000 make during the year of our Lord 1910?

Just how much surplus profit did they exploit from the labor of 6,615,046 working people whose toil created the wealth?

Just how much of the \$20,672,052,000 belonged of right to the owners of these concerns, and how much belonged really to the workers? In short, how much did they steal from us? These are the things we most would like to know. These are the things it is most important we should know. Compared with these, everything else is unimportant. But this is the one thing the big government volumes decline to answer, perhaps on advice of counsel.

Maybe there is a nigger in the woodpile.

However, there are some things that are told to us in these tables. We should be thankful for the favors we have. We will make the best use of what they give us.

(b) THE MEASURE OF EXPLOITATION.

Based on Thirteenth Census Bulletin, 1910: Manufactures.
The Laborer Gets About Forty Per Cent of the Wealth He Produces.

On page 4 of the above census bulletin is given a table covering the principal matters of information relative to 268,491 manufacturing establishments in the United States. The following are taken from this table:

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Number establishments | 268,491 |
| Persons engaged in manufactures | 7,678,578 |
| Proprietors and firm members..... | 273,265 |
| Salaried employes | 790,267 |
| Wage-earners (average number)..... | 6,615,056 |
| Capital | \$18,428,270,000 |
| Expenses | 18,453,080,000 |
| Services | 4,365,613,000 |
| Salaries | 938,575,000 |
| Wages | 3,427,038,000 |
| Materials | 12,141,791,000 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,945,676,000 |
| Value of products | 20,672,052,000 |
| Value added by manufacturer (value of products less cost of materials)..... | 8,530,261,000 |

Deductions From the Above Table.

We note in the above table that the value added by the process of manufacture is \$8,530,261,000. This figure is arrived at by subtracting the cost of materials from the value of the

products. This latter figure, however, should be much larger than that given in the table, for, as the report states, the value of the products here referred to means the value of the products at the factory. It is perfectly clear that this value is much less than the actual selling value of the products. How much less it is impossible for us to tell. On the other hand, the miscellaneous expenses should, some of them perhaps, be subtracted from the gross product. And we are informed by a foot-note that in the expense account no provision has been made for depreciation. But both of these items, namely, the miscellaneous expenses and the depreciation, would, if taken together, be certainly far less than the value of the selling price over the factory value. It is very likely, therefore, that the \$8,530,261,000 is, if anything, considerably less than the actual value created by the workers.

Assuming then that this is true, we find by subtracting the \$4,365,631,000 (which was the total amount spent for services, and including not only the wages of the common workers, but \$50,000 and \$100,000 salaries of the superintendents) from the \$8,530,261,000, which is the total value that the workers created, in the manufactures of the nation alone, the workers were exploited that year out of \$4,164,648,000; in other words, according to these figures, which are admittedly conservative, and perhaps purposely manipulated so as to conceal the worst of the truth, the workers received only 51.17 per cent of the wealth which their labor created. They probably received very much less.

And if we make allowances for the big salaries of the high officials, which sometimes reach as high as \$50,000 and \$100,000 a year and which therefore constitute no real part of the expense of operation, but are, in fact, merely so much of a share of the profit or plunder of the concern, the real portion that the common workingman received of the wealth which his labor created was much less than the above figures would indicate. It is quite likely that the estimate made by the National Socialist Hand Book No. 1 is correct and that the workers received but 40.01 per cent of the wealth which their labor created.

Further Deductions from Census Table.—The average wage of the workers in the manufactures was \$518 per year.

The average production of each person (wage-earners and salaried employees combined) was \$1,151; or, if we eliminate the salaried employees as the national hand book does, the average production for each person would be as they state it, \$1,290.

The average income (wage-earners and salaried employees combined) was approximately \$589 per year.

The average wage, \$518 per year.

The average wealth produced, \$1,151 per year.

The average amount exploited, \$633 per year.

Per cent of wealth produced received by the worker, 51.17 per cent, which, with the corrections pointed out above, would undoubtedly be reduced to about 40 per cent.

The amount net profit to the 273,265 proprietors and firm members (the value of the products less the total expense) was \$2,218,972,000, which is over 12 per cent on the capital employed, or more than \$8,120 average annual income to each.

Average annual wage to worker, \$518.

Average annual income to owner, \$8,120.

(c) THE WORKERS' SHARE.

Estimated by the National Socialist Hand Book No. 1, Based on Census Bulletins.

The above deductions are verified by the authors of the National Handbook, who have also analyzed the census figures in

another manner and arrive at about the same figures.

These authors say:

"The value added to production (that is, the value of the product, less the cost of materials) averaged \$1,150 for each wage-earner in 1904. It now averages \$1,290. But the relative share of the worker in the value of his product is less than it was in either 1899 or 1904.

"In a previous article, based upon the census of 1905, we fixed upon the percentage of 47 as approximately the factory worker's share in his product. The figure is, of course, arbitrary, since his share cannot be exactly computed. For present purposes in computing the worker's share, we shall make no other deductions from the gross value of the product than the cost of materials. We then have the following comparative figures.

| Year. | Wages. | Net Production. | Worker's Share, Per Cent. |
|------------|--------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 1899 | \$426 | \$1,025 | 41.6 |
| 1904 | 477 | 1,150 | 41.5 |
| 1909 | 518 | 1,290 | 40.1 |

According to this the worker receives about 40 per cent of the wealth his labor creates. This is the same proportion arrived at by the study of the preceding table.

(d) HENRY FORD PROVES CORRECTNESS OF SOCIALIST POSITION.

(From "The Bombshell that Henry Ford Fired," by Allen L. Benson, in Pearson's Magazine, April, 1914.)

Average Wage of American Workingman, \$518; Ford Pays \$1,565.

Socialists told you that under a just system of industry even the lowliest worker need not lack a decent living. Ford has not established a just system of industry, even in his own factory. He is returning only half of his profits. But the lowliest man who works for Ford receives not less than \$5 a day. That is \$1,565 a year. Ford is paying many of his workingmen more than \$2,000 a year. The average annual wage of the American workingman is less than \$500 a year.

The difference between what Ford is paying and what the others are paying indicates part of the robbery that the others are practising upon their victims. It does not represent all of the robbery, because Ford is not yet paying his employees what they earn. Ford's employees, like all other employees, earn all that is produced in excess of what is actually produced by the proprietors themselves. Most great proprietors produce nothing. Ford is an exception. He is entitled to his just reward. But his just reward is not what he is getting. His plant last year produced \$25,000,000 of profits. Ford took more than half of this sum and his six partners took the rest. No man on earth can earn \$12,000,000 or \$15,000,000 a year.

No man on earth can wisely use so much a year. Ford knows this as well as anybody. The fact that he has chosen to surrender half of his profits shows that he knows it. The fact that he has chosen to return half of this money to his employees instead of using it to found libraries and endow colleges shows that he knows to whom it belongs. Ford has been a workingman himself. He is not entirely blind. He knows what it means to work and get only a part of what one earns.

But let us hurry along. We Socialists told you that under a just system of industry even the lowliest workingman need not lack a decent living. You hooted at us. You said we were fools. The rich men said we were crooks. What does Ford say? He says he can afford to pay and will pay floor sweepers not less than \$5 a day.

What do you think of a minimum of \$5 a day? You, Mr. Average American Workingman, who receive less than \$500 a year, what do you think of \$1,565 a year? Could you live in comparative decency on that? Would your family feel a little more comfortable than it now feels on less than \$500 a year?

How would you like to work for Ford? Would you accept a job in his factory if he were to telegraph you? Would you suspect his money of being counterfeit?

Then, why do you always suspect Socialist promises of being counterfeit? Can nothing but the actual sight of money convince you? All that Ford has told you in terms of money we have told you in words. We have told you even more. We have told you that you may have all your labor produces if you but go about it in a sensible way to get it. Ford has told his employes they may have half of the additional \$25,000,000 a year that they should get. When Ford promises to return ten or twelve millions a year you take him exceedingly seriously. If you are near enough to his factory, you crowd around the gates and howl for jobs. You block the streets until the police have to come and chase you away. But when Socialists tell you that you could just as well have the whole \$25,000,000 as half of it, you yawn and declare you believe you will vote the Democratic ticket and keep the tariff down or vote some other ticket and put the tariff up.

But we should ask too much of Mr. Ford if we were to require him to pull us through the crack which he has made. Ford has done enough for us. We should now do something for ourselves. He has shown us that half of his profits are enough to enable him to reduce daily hours from nine to eight and increase the pay of all men more than 22 years old to \$5 a day. We should be able to do the rest of the problem ourselves. It is nothing but a problem in mental arithmetic. We have only to divide the remainder of Ford's annual profits by the number of his employes to ascertain how much more Socialism would increase wages.

The remainder of Ford's profits are \$12,500,000.

The number of his employes is 25,000.

Enough profits are left to increase by \$500 a year the wages of each man, woman and child who works for Ford.

That would be a little more than \$2,000 a year for floor sweepers and still more for others.

Yet common sense should tell us that the Ford plant is not the only industry in the United States that is making much money. Why should the Ford plant be so considered? The Ford plant makes nothing but automobiles. Automobiles are not necessary to life. Most people do not have them. Most people never will have them. Concerns that make and sell what everybody must have should be much more prosperous than a concern that deals in what only a few can have. A great railroad system should be much more prosperous than an automobile plant. The Beef Trust should be more prosperous than an automobile plant. The Woolen Trust should be more prosperous than an automobile plant. The Steel Trust should be more prosperous than an automobile plant. Yet not one of these trusts declared a dividend in 1913 of 1,200 per cent. Not one of these trusts has since established a minimum wage of \$5 a day and reduced daily hours from nine to eight. Not one of these trusts pays anything but the lowest wages upon which its employes will consent to exist. They are all doing business—feeding, transporting and otherwise serving the American people, but they are all paying wages that Ford's employes would not look at, and calling upon the police, if necessary, to prevent their employes from using force to get more.

The American people are being fooled—that's all. The business buccaneers of this country are concealing their profits behind watered stock. What Ford is doing all the great business interests of the United States could do if they would.

The railroads could decrease freight and passenger rates and increase wages.

The Beef Trust could increase wages and reduce the price of meat.

The Woolen Trust and the Steel Trust could sell their products for less and pay their employes more.

Ford wages can be duplicated by any trust that is willing to retire its watered stock and return to its employes half or more of the profits.

The Socialists believe so much in our country that they are exceedingly anxious to take possession of it. They should like to place everybody, not merely on a level with Mr. Ford's floor sweepers, but up with his \$3,000 or \$4,000 a year mechanics. At present each of Mr. Ford's floor sweepers is annually in receipt of an income that is more than three times as great as that of the average American—and Mr. Ford has enough left to pay a dividend of 600 per cent upon his stock. Mr. Ford and his floor sweepers may be proud of this fact, but how do you feel about it?

(e) BIG WAGES THAT COULD BE PAID.

(From article by Allan L. Benson, Pearson's Magazine, June, 1914.)

The game can never again be what it was before Henry Ford spoke. Ford told the world that his annual profits upon a \$2,000,000 capitalization were \$25,000,000. Ford told the world that he could afford to pay even his floor sweepers a daily wage of \$5. Ford told the world that his 25,000 employes need work only eight instead of nine hours a day.

Many big employers have asserted that their enterprises could not afford to pay as big wages to their workers as Henry Ford pays to his workers. On the following pages you will find analyses of some big corporation reports which show that if these corporations were capitalized like the Henry Ford Company is capitalized, they could pay "Henry Ford" wages. AND, you will see what kind of wages could be paid if these great public service utilities were publicly owned instead of privately owned, if the service and cost of service were the same as now given.

Bethlehem Steel Corporation.

I shall begin with the steel industry. I shall first consider the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, a competitor of the steel trust, and then the steel trust itself. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation is capitalized at \$30,000,000 and bonded for \$31,300,000. The report for 1913 shows a "net manufacturing profit" of \$8,530,708. By what process these figures were obtained is not shown. Corporations sometimes juggle figures to make net profits appear smaller than they are. Having no facts with which to question these figures, we will take them as they are and see what became of the money.

Bondholders and noteholders received \$2,101,183.

Stockholders received \$5,122,703.

To offset depreciation in plants, \$1,272,270 was set aside.

The appropriation for depreciation is a just charge against the wealth created in the plants. Workingmen should make good the wear and tear on the equipment they use. But the \$7,223,886 that went to stockholders and bondholders was simply a payment made by the workers for the use of the capitalists' machinery. The capitalists did nothing to earn the money. They took it simply because their ownership of the properties gave them power to levy this enormous tribute upon the workers. If the government, instead of private capitalists, had provided the capital, the seven millions and more that went to those who did no work might have gone to those who did all the work.

But that is not all. Elsewhere in the report we find that during 1913 additions valued at \$9,490,562 were made to the property. This fact was doubtless revealed for the gratification of the stockholders. The source of the money that was used to pay for the additions was not revealed. No mention was made in the report of the sale of bonds. It could not have come out of the surplus, because the surplus, at the beginning of 1913, amounted only to \$1,318,241, and was larger at the end of the year than at the beginning. The presumption, therefore, is that the nine millions and more were taken from current income.

We therefore have three items aggregating \$16,714,448 that represents deductions made from the products of labor for the benefit of stockholders and bondholders. The sum actually paid to labor, on the other hand, amounted to \$13,993,417.

The Bethlehem Steel Corporation, in 1913, employed 16,593 men. The wages actually paid amounted to an average annual wage of \$843 for about the hardest work to which a human being can lay his hands. If the sixteen millions and more that were deducted from labor's products for the benefit of stockholders and bondholders had been divided among the men, the average wage would have been \$1,840.

Here we have the wages of Mr. Ford's floor sweepers not only equalled but exceeded. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation in 1913 could have paid an average wage of \$1,565 and still have had a remainder of nearly \$5,000,000. Instead, it paid an average annual wage of \$843, a dividend of a little more than 27 per cent on its common stock, 5 per cent on its preferred, more than \$2,000,000 to bondholders and more than \$9,000,000 for additions to property.

United States Steel Corporation.

We will now proceed to look through the books of the United States Steel Corporation. The steel trust differs from most other corporations in this—the steel trust buys no raw materials. Its single product is steel, which is made of iron that the trust digs from the ground, transports in its own ships from the Lake Superior region to its own smelters, where it is reduced to pig iron with coal mined by the trust. The steel trust owns not only iron mines, coal mines and steamships, but more than a thousand miles of railroads.

I make this explanation because it immediately becomes useful, when we learn that the trust's gross sales last year amounted to \$518,999,605. This means that the trust's employes, in 1913, created wealth to the extent of the sales. What became of the money?

Rather let us first ask what would have become of the money if no capitalist had been able to graft on the workers?

We may well suppose that something would have been paid for repairs and something set aside for depreciation. The steel trust devoted \$52,000,000 to these purposes—suppose we accept the trust's figures.

With depreciation deducted, we have as a remainder \$467,000,000. If we deduct \$13,000,000 for taxes (which is the amount the steel trust paid last year) we have \$454,000,000.

If private capitalists did not own the steel trust's properties \$454,000,000 would be available for the steel workers. As there are 228,906 steel trust employes, the average annual wage would be \$1,983.

But the grafters, having seen the steel trust first, the average wage of employes in 1913 was only \$904. Only a handful of the steel trust's stockholders took any part whatever in the production of steel. Those who took part were well paid for their work. Gentlemen like Judge Gary, the executive head of the

trust, were exceedingly well paid. Yet stockholders and bondholders drew off more than half of the \$454,000,000 that was left after paying taxes and making deductions for repairs and depreciation. The workingmen who created all the value (and this includes everybody from Judge Gary down) were paid \$207,-206,176, while the remaining \$247,000,000 went to stockholders and bondholders.

The steel trust is bonded for \$627,000,000 and more than \$41,000,000 was paid directly to bondholders or put into sinking funds where capitalists will eventually lay hands upon it.

The steel trust is capitalized at more than \$868,000,000 and upon this stock almost \$51,000,000 in dividends were paid.

Money was showered in every direction except the direction of the men who made it. Forty-two million dollars were spent for additional property. Fifteen millions were appropriated to make further additions to property. More than \$15,000,000 were carried over to the surplus account.

Indeed the steel trust is and, since it was formed, has always been a gold mine to the men who own it.

Since the steel trust was organized, thirteen years ago, it has created net profits available for dividends amounting to more than \$913,000,000.

It has extended its holdings by buying and paying for more than \$466,000,000 worth of additional properties.

It has paid off and retired more than \$148,000,000 in bonds.

It has increased its surplus account from \$25,000,000 to more than \$151,000,000.

But it has not made a single millionaire among the rank and file of its employes. These gentlemen are still poor. These gentlemen will always be poor. They are working, on an average, for \$904 a year.

Such are the conditions in the steel industry. See the figures again:

BETHLEHEM CO. PAYS \$843; COULD PAY \$1,840.

U. S. STEEL TRUST PAYS \$904; COULD PAY \$1,983.

Electric Railways.

If we turn to the electric railways (street and suburban) we shall see the same exploitation that we have seen in the steel industry. Fortunately for our purpose, the United States Census Bureau has recently made a most interesting survey of all the electric railways in the country, of which there are 975. The extent of the business may be realized when it is stated that the income of the railways is greater than that of the steel trust. The steel trust's income in 1913 was \$518,999,605. The income of the electric railways for 1912 (the year covered by the government's report) was \$585,930,517.

Examination of the electric railway figures discloses the same blood-letting process by which the employes of the steel trust are made pale. The sum paid to the 282,461 employes was only approximately \$225,000,000. Fuel cost about a hundred million.

Fifty million more might justly have been set aside for repairs and depreciation, while an additional \$25,000,000 should have covered taxes and administrative expenses.

The remaining \$186,000,000 (had it not been for the ownership of the lines by private capitalists) would naturally have gone to the employes, increasing their average annual income from approximately \$800 to about \$1,460 a year.

The American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

The American Telephone & Telegraph Company, which operates the Bell telephone systems throughout the United States, gives women an opportunity to pay some of the price that must be paid to support private ownership of industrial

machinery. The rapidity with which this company has extended its business is almost without parallel in the business history of the country. Ten years ago the company operated only 2,000,000 telephones. On January 1, 1914, it operated 8,133,017. Since 1904 more than \$500,000,000 has been added to the properties of the company.

Many of the company's employes are girls. These girls helped to bring in, in 1913, \$215,600,000. Operating expenses amounted to \$75,400,000. In the company's report for 1913 it is not explained what part of the operating expenses were for wages and what parts were for other charges. If all of the operating expenses had been paid as wages, the company's 156,928 employes would have received an average annual wage of \$474.

Stockholders, bondholders and other gentlemen who did not help the girls received \$58,700,000. If the public had owned the telephone system and the same rates had been charged, the annual wage of each employe could have been increased \$375, which would have increased the annual average from \$474 to \$849.

The average weekly wage paid by the American Telephone & Telegraph Company is now only \$9. This wage could be increased to \$16 if the stockholders and bondholders were out of the way.

(e) EXPLOITATION IN MINES, 1899 AND 1902.

(Special Census Report, "Mines and Quarries" [1902], page 6.)

| | 1889. | 1902. |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Number of mines or quarries..... | 59,204 | 151,516 |
| Number of operators | | 46,858 |
| Capital | \$1,287,709,840 | Not reported |
| Salaried officials, clerks, etc.— | | |
| Number | 6,120 | 38,128 |
| Salaries | \$4,724,392 | \$39,020,552 |
| Wage-earners— | | |
| Average number | 523,710 | 581,728 |
| Total wages | \$ 212,646,848* | \$369,959,960 |
| Contract work | 6,719,531 | 20,677,938 |
| Miscellaneous expenses | 30,236,132 | 71,771,713 |
| Cost of supplies and materials..... | 74,288,181 | 123,814,967 |
| Value of products | 410,760,770 | 796,826,417 |

Comment: The average wages of wage-earners were \$646 (1902). The value added by manufacture (value of finished product minus cost of supplies and materials and miscellaneous expenses) was \$601,239,537, of which labor (wages and salaries combined) received \$408,980,512.

*Includes foremen and their wages.

5. Wages and the Cost of Living.

(a) THE WORKINGMAN'S BUDGET.

Average expenditures of 2,567 workingmen's families for each of the principal items entering into cost of living and per cent of average total expenditure, 1901.

(From Eighteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, p. 648.)

| Item of expenditure. | Average. | Expenditure based on all families. Per cent. of total expenditure. |
|----------------------|----------|---|
| Food | \$326.90 | 42.54 |
| Rent | 99.49 | 12.95 |
| Mortgage: | | |
| Principal | *8.15 | 1.06 |
| Interest | 13.98 | .52 |
| Fuel | 32.23 | 4.19 |
| Lighting | 8.15 | 1.06 |
| Clothing: | | |
| Husband | 33.73 | 4.39 |
| Wife | 26.03 | 3.39 |
| Children | 48.08 | 6.25 |
| Taxes | 5.79 | .75 |
| Insurance: | | |
| Property | 1.53 | .20 |
| Life | 19.44 | 2.53 |
| Organizations: | | |
| Labor | 3.87 | .50 |
| Other | 5.18 | .67 |

| Item of expenditure. | Expenditure based on all families. | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| | Average. | Per cent of total expendi- ture. |
| Religious purposes | 7.62 | .99 |
| Charity | 2.39 | .31 |
| Furniture and utensils | 26.31 | 3.42 |
| Books and newspapers | 8.35 | 1.09 |
| Amusements and vacations | 12.28 | 1.60 |
| Intoxicating liquors | 12.44 | 1.62 |
| Tobacco | 10.93 | 1.42 |
| Sickness and death | 20.54 | 2.67 |
| Other purposes | 45.13 | 5.87 |

Total\$768.54 100.00

*Including interest paid by thirteen families.

†Not including interest paid by thirteen families, included in principal.

(b) WHAT IS A LIVING WAGE?

Cost of the various items entering into a normal standard of living in various localities, for a family consisting of a man, wife and a girl of ten, a boy of six and a boy of four.

(From "Financing the Wage Earner's Family," by Scott Nearing, University of Pennsylvania.)

| | Manhattan Island | Fall River | Georgia and North Carolina | Home- stead. |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Food | \$359.00 | \$313.00 | \$289.00 | \$445.00 |
| Housing | 168.00 | 131.00 | 44.81 | 200.00 |
| Clothing | 113.00 | 136.80 | 113.00 | 175.00 |
| Fuel and light..... | 41.00 | 42.75 | 49.16 | 46.80 |
| Carfare | 16.00 | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Health | 22.00 | 11.65 | 16.40 | 30.00 |
| Insurance | 18.00 | 18.25 | 18.25 | 95.00 |
| Sundry items | 74.00 | 90.90 | 78.25 | 298.41 |
| Total | \$811.00 | \$745.35 | \$708.87 | \$1,290.87 |

It may, therefore, be stated by way of a general conclusion that the available data indicate that a man, wife and three children under fourteen cannot maintain a fair standard of living in the industrial towns of eastern United States on an amount less than \$700 a year in the southern, and \$750 a year in the northern states. In the large cities, where rents are higher, this amount must be increased by at least \$100.

In every city as well as in every town and hamlet there is a minimum of economic goods necessary for subsistence and for efficiency, and hence there is a minimum cost for such items. Below the minimum of efficiency lies insufficient education, absence of decency and privacy, ill-ventilated rooms, unhand-some clothing and food ill-adapted for nutrition. Below the standard of subsistence lies family dissolution, misery, want, starvation, disease and death. These inevitable things, follow-ing as night follows day, present themselves to the conscious-ness of the thinking wage earner who looks toward the future.

(c) DO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN OBTAIN A LIVING WAGE?

(From "Wages in the United States, 1908-1910," by Scott Nearing, page 214. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

For the available sources of statistics, and by inference for neighboring localities, the annual earnings (unemployment of 20 per cent deducted) of adult males and females employed east of the Rockies and north of the Mason and Dixon line are distrib-uted over the wage scale thus:

| Annual earnings. | Adult males. | Adult females. |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Under \$200 ..... | ..... | $\frac{1}{8}$ |
| Under 325 | $\frac{1}{10}$ | $\frac{1}{5}$ |
| Under 500 | $\frac{1}{2}$ | $\frac{9}{10}$ |
| Under 600 | $\frac{3}{4}$ | $\frac{19}{20}$ |
| Under 800 | $\frac{9}{10}$ | ..... |

Three-quarters of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females actually earn less than \$600 a year.

Even where wife and children join in wage earning, the situation is not greatly improved, first, because from "four to five-tenths of the industrial families of the United States are entirely supported by the earnings of the father-husband.

(From "A Living Wage," by John T. Ryan, Professor of Ethics and Economics in the Catholic Seminary at St. Paul, Minn.)

To sum up, sufficient data have been presented to justify the conclusion, that the proportion of adult male wage earners (outside of agriculture, where the remuneration is much lower but the cost of living not so high) obtaining less than \$600 per year is at least 60 per cent. . . . Two million men in the United States do not get a wage sufficient to supply their normal physical wants. They are on a physical level below that of a well kept horse or cow.

(d) AN INTERESTING COMPARISON.

| | Average Worker. | President. | Rockefeller. |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|
| Year | \$445.00 | \$75,000.00 | \$100,000,000.00 |
| Month | 37.00 | 6,000.00 | 8,333,000.00 |
| Week | 8.54 | 1,500.00 | 2,165,000.00 |
| Day | 1.42 | 249.00 | 350,000.00 |
| Hour | .14 | 24.75 | 35,000.00 |
| Minute | .00 1/4 | .40 1/2 | 583.00 |
| Second | | .00 3/4 | 9.72 |

(e) EARNINGS OF WAGE WORKERS IN MANUFACTURES, 1909.

(Statistics from Thirteenth Census Reports, 1910, Vol. VIII.)

| | |
|---|------------------|
| No. of establishments..... | 268,491 |
| Capital | \$18,428,269,906 |
| Salaried employes | 790,267 |
| Salaries aggregate | \$ 938,574,967 |
| Wage earners | 6,615,046 |
| Under 16 years of age..... | 161,493 |
| Wages, aggregate | \$ 3,427,037,884 |
| Average wage | \$518 |
| Operating expenses: | |
| Materials | \$12,142,790,878 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,945,685,870 |
| Value of product | 20,672,051,870 |
| Value added by manufacture..... | 8,529,260,992 |
| Percentage of increase in ten years, 1899-1909: | |
| Number of establishments | 29.4 |
| Number of wage earners | 40.4 |
| Wages, aggregate | 70.6 |
| Value of product | 81.2 |
| Value added by manufacturer..... | 76.5 |

(f) WAGES OF WOOLEN OPERATIVES.

The following table is prepared from the data given on page 997 of the Report of the Tariff Board on Schedule K (December 21, 1911). It covers the wage figures for 30,454 workers (exclusive of weavers) in 174 woolen mills, comprising more than two-thirds of the productive capacity of the country. The cumulative number shows the total number of workers receiving less than the specified amount. The wages are computed for a 54-hour week:

| Wages. | Number. | Cumulative. Number. |
|------------------------|---------|------------------------|
| Less than \$3.24..... | 99 | |
| Less than \$5.40..... | 3,383 | 3,482 |
| Less than \$7.56..... | 12,160 | 15,642 |
| Less than \$9.72..... | 7,561 | 23,203 |
| Less than \$13.50..... | 4,286 | 27,489 |
| Less than \$18.90..... | 2,472 | 29,961 |
| Less than \$32.40..... | 400 | 30,361 |
| More than \$32.40..... | 93 | |
| Total | 30,454 | |

Weavers' Wages.

From page 1007 of the same volume the following table, giving the wages of skilled weavers, is prepared:

| Wages. | Number. | Cumulative Number. |
|------------------------|---------|--------------------|
| Less than \$5.94..... | 65 | |
| Less than \$7.02..... | 217 | 282 |
| Less than \$8.10..... | 341 | 623 |
| Less than \$9.18..... | 424 | 1,047 |
| Less than \$10.80..... | 748 | 1,795 |
| Less than \$11.88..... | 438 | 2,233 |
| Less than \$12.96..... | 414 | 2,647 |
| Less than \$14.04..... | 235 | 2,882 |
| Less than \$15.12..... | 150 | 3,032 |
| Less than \$16.20..... | 108 | 3,140 |
| Less than \$17.28..... | 34 | 3,174 |
| Less than \$18.90..... | 6 | 3,180 |
| More than \$18.90..... | 2 | |
| Total | 3,182 | |

(g) PAY OF RAILWAYMEN.

The most reliable body of statistics in America, regarding wage earners, is to be found in the annual reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Below is a table from that source, which shows what railway men received per day in 1892, 1901 and 1910. Commodity prices have risen about 40 per cent since 1892. The salaries of railway officers have advanced 70 per cent, but the wages of the workmen have risen only slightly. Switch tenders, in fact, receive less today than they did twenty years ago. Enginemen, the aristocrats of that industry, receive only 23 per cent more than they received in 1892. During that period the railroads have coined billions of dollars for their stockholders. The table follows:

| Class. | 1892 | 1901 | 1910 |
|--|--------|---------|---------|
| General officers | \$7.93 | \$10.97 | \$13.27 |
| Other offices ..... | .... | 5.56 | 6.22 |
| General office clerks | 2.23 | 2.19 | 2.40 |
| Station agents | 1.82 | 1.77 | 2.12 |
| Other station men | 1.68 | 1.59 | 1.84 |
| Enginemen | 3.68 | 3.78 | 4.55 |
| Firemen | 2.08 | 2.16 | 2.74 |
| Conductors | 3.08 | 3.17 | 3.91 |
| Other trainmen | 1.90 | 2.00 | 2.69 |
| Machinists | 2.29 | 2.32 | 3.08 |
| Carpenters | 2.08 | 2.06 | 2.51 |
| Other shopmen | 1.72 | 1.75 | 2.18 |
| Section foremen | 1.76 | 1.71 | 1.99 |
| Other trackmen | 1.22 | 1.23 | 1.47 |
| Switch tenders, crossing tenders, watchmen.. | 1.80 | 1.74 | 1.69 |
| Telegraphers | 1.92 | 1.98 | 2.33 |
| Employees—floating equipment | 2.03 | 1.97 | 2.22 |
| All other employes (mostly laborers)..... | 1.68 | 1.69 | 2.01 |

*Not reported.

(h) WAGES IN MINES AND QUARRIES.

(From the Thirteenth Census of United States, "Mines and Quarries," 1910, page 21.)

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Mines and quarries, number..... | 27,240 |
| Petroleum and gas wells..... | 166,448 |
| Operators | 23,664 |
| Salaried employes | 46,475 |
| Salaries | \$55,878,478.00 |
| Number performing manual labor in connection with mines, quarries and wells..... | 10,299 |
| Wage earners | 1,086,782 |
| Wages | \$599,705,989.00 |
| Average wage | \$551.82 |
| Capital | \$3,362,527,064.00 |
| Operating Expenses: | |
| Supplies and materials..... | \$ 260,110,898.00 |
| Royalties and rent..... | 64,154,926.00 |
| Contract work | 30,690,458.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 63,650,680.00 |
| Value of products..... | 1,238,410,322.00 |

(i) SALARIES AND WAGES IN THE FISHERIES.

Business for 1908.

| | |
|---|---------|
| (Special Census Report, "Fisheries of the United States," p. 14.) | |
| Total persons employed | 143,881 |
| Proprietors and independent fishermen..... | 72,030 |
| Salaried employes | 850 |

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Wage-earners | 71,501 |
| Total salaries and wages..... | \$16,377,000 |
| Salaries | 319,000 |
| Wages | *16,058,000 |
| *Includes provisions furnished to the value of \$1,803,000. | |
| The average wage in this industry was \$224.44 per year. | |

(j) HOW MUCH DOES THE FARMER GET?

(From the Rural New Yorker, August 23, 1913.)

"The facts indicate that on the whole the income of farmers in this country, even when we include as a part of the income those things consumed on the farm where they are produced, is certainly not more than sufficient to pay five per cent on the investment and ordinary farm wages for the labor they do, and it is probably considerably less than this."

Who makes any such statement as this? Some radical critic of agricultural education? Some 35-cent dollar crank? Some "mossback" farmer, or some "combative" farmer? No; it comes from the highest authority—the United States Department of Agriculture. Professor W. J. Spillman has compiled figures to show the farmer's income. Here is what he calls the labor income of United States farmers:

| Item. | Total | Amount per farm. |
|--|------------------|------------------|
| Number of farms..... | 6,361,502 | 138.1 acres |
| Improved land—acres | 478,451,750 | 75.2 acres |
| Total farm investment | \$40,991,449,090 | \$6,443.67 |
| Investment in farm buildings..... | 6,325,451,528 | 994.33 |
| Investment in implements and machinery | 1,265,149,783 | 198.88 |

We will ask you first to consider whether the figures as applied to your farm are above or below these averages. If your figures are above, remember that others must be below.

The year's receipts are figured in this way:

| | | |
|--|-----------------|----------|
| Dairy products (excluding milk and cream used at home) | \$ 596,413,463 | \$ 93.75 |
| Wool | 65,472,328 | 10.29 |
| Mohair | 901,597 | .14 |
| Eggs produced | 306,688,960 | 48.21 |
| Poultry raised | 202,506,272 | 31.83 |
| Honey and wax | 5,992,083 | .94 |
| Domestic animals sold..... | 1,562,936,694 | 245.69 |
| Domestic animals slaughtered | 270,238,793 | 42.48 |
| Total value of all crops..... | \$5,487,161,223 | |
| Net value of crops fed..... | 2,260,461,267 | |
| Net value of crops..... | 3,226,699,956 | 507.22 |

Total gross farm income \$6,237,850,146 \$980.55

Remember right here that while the year's crops are said to be worth to the farmer a little over \$6,000,000,000, they cost over \$16,000,000,000 when finally bought by the consumer, which gives the farmer about a 37-cent dollar. Handling these big figures as we would smaller ones, we have the following:

EXPENSES.

| | | |
|--|-----------------|----------|
| Labor | \$ 651,611,287 | \$102.43 |
| Fertilizers | 114,882,541 | 18.06 |
| Feed | 299,839,857 | 47.13 |
| Maintenance of buildings (at 5%)..... | 316,272,576 | 49.72 |
| Maintenance of implements and machinery (20%) | 253,029,956 | 39.78 |
| Taxes (0.6%) | 245,948,694 | 38.66 |
| Total | \$1,881,584,911 | \$295.78 |
| Miscellaneous expenses (15% of other expenses) | 282,237,736 | 44.37 |
| Total expenses | \$2,163,822,647 | \$340.15 |

SUMMARY.

| | | |
|--|-----------------|----------|
| Total gross income | \$6,237,850,146 | \$980.55 |
| Total expenses | 2,163,822,647 | 340.15 |
| Net farm income. | \$4,074,027,499 | \$640.40 |
| Interest on investment (at 5%)..... | 2,049,572,454 | 322.18 |
| Labor income. | \$2,024,455,045 | \$318.22 |
| Interest on mortgage (\$1,715 at 6%)..... | | 102.90 |
| Available for purchase of live stock and for family living | | 537.50 |

Thus, on the average mortgaged farm, the farmer has \$537.50 for his living expenses and for purchasing livestock or needed tools. This is presuming that the farm income is all in cash, while we all know that many farmers dispose of much of their crop in trade, in some cases paying double prices by so doing. These figures do not include the value of milk and cream used by the farm family, or the money obtained from working for others.

(From Census Report, Vol. V.)

Farms with income under \$250, 30.9 per cent, or 1,714,296; over \$250 and under \$500, 27.9 per cent, or 1,602,854; over \$500 and under \$1,000, 24 per cent, or 1,378,944; over \$1,000 and under \$2,500, 14.5 per cent, or 829,443; over \$2,500, 2.7 per cent, or 54,120.

6. The Increase in the Cost of Living.

(a) RELATIVE RETAIL PRICES OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF FOOD IN THE UNITED STATES, 1890 TO AUGUST, 1913, BY ARTICLES.

(From Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

[Average price for 1890-1899=100.0. The relative prices shown in this report for 1890 to 1907 do not exactly agree with those shown in Bulletin No. 77 for the reason that a smaller number of cities are included.]

Year or month.

Sirloin
steak.

Round
steak.

Rib
roast.

Pork
chops.

Bacon, Ham,
smoked, smoked.

Lard,
pure.

Hens.

Flour,
wheat.

Corn
meal.

Eggs,
strictly
fresh.

Butter, Potatoes,
creamery. Irish.

Sugar,
granu-
lated.

Milk
fresh.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1890..... | 99.3 | 97.6 | 98.7 | 96.5 | 98.3 | 98.5 | 102.8 | 110.2 | 101.3 | 100.3 | 99.2 | 109.0 | 120.8 | 100.4 |
| 1891..... | 99.7 | 98.0 | 99.6 | 97.2 | 99.5 | 100.0 | 104.8 | 112.4 | 111.5 | 105.6 | 105.7 | 117.1 | 103.1 | 100.5 |
| 1892..... | 99.6 | 98.0 | 99.6 | 101.1 | 101.5 | 104.4 | 104.2 | 104.0 | 107.7 | 105.3 | 106.8 | 95.4 | 96.9 | 100.5 |
| 1893..... | 99.4 | 98.5 | 98.4 | 99.9 | 107.1 | 119.2 | 104.3 | 95.1 | 104.0 | 105.5 | 108.6 | 111.8 | 102.6 | 100.5 |
| 1894..... | 98.1 | 97.4 | 97.9 | 102.5 | 101.7 | 106.4 | 98.2 | 88.3 | 104.4 | 97.4 | 102.0 | 101.8 | 95.2 | 100.3 |
| 1895..... | 98.7 | 98.2 | 97.9 | 98.7 | 98.9 | 99.8 | 97.3 | 98.6 | 101.0 | 98.8 | 97.4 | 90.6 | 91.8 | 99.4 |
| 1896..... | 98.8 | 100.5 | 99.4 | 96.3 | 96.5 | 92.1 | 96.1 | 94.2 | 92.8 | 90.3 | 93.1 | 78.8 | 96.2 | 100.1 |
| 1897..... | 99.6 | 101.8 | 100.1 | 97.0 | 98.5 | 89.0 | 92.3 | 104.7 | 91.2 | 94.0 | 93.7 | 92.5 | 94.3 | 100.0 |
| 1898..... | 102.1 | 102.8 | 102.2 | 100.2 | 97.2 | 93.5 | 96.8 | 106.9 | 92.9 | 97.9 | 95.8 | 103.9 | 99.7 | 99.8 |
| 1899..... | 104.4 | 107.0 | 106.1 | 102.9 | 100.5 | 97.1 | 103.4 | 94.8 | 92.9 | 101.6 | 97.6 | 98.8 | 99.6 | 98.8 |
| 1900..... | 107.1 | 109.8 | 109.3 | 110.3 | 106.9 | 104.9 | 99.6 | 94.6 | 95.6 | 99.1 | 101.2 | 92.8 | 103.9 | 100.0 |
| 1901..... | 109.4 | 114.0 | 112.7 | 121.3 | 111.1 | 119.6 | 105.0 | 94.9 | 107.6 | 107.7 | 103.0 | 114.0 | 102.1 | 101.4 |
| 1902..... | 114.6 | 122.3 | 118.6 | 135.9 | 120.6 | 135.6 | 113.6 | 95.6 | 123.9 | 119.4 | 109.8 | 116.7 | 92.8 | 104.1 |
| 1903..... | 110.6 | 116.8 | 117.0 | 140.4 | 122.1 | 126.0 | 119.3 | 102.1 | 122.1 | 125.1 | 110.2 | 114.7 | 93.7 | 107.4 |
| 1904..... | 111.0 | 120.8 | 117.0 | 138.5 | 119.4 | 116.3 | 120.6 | 118.3 | 122.9 | 131.1 | 108.1 | 119.0 | 100.4 | 107.4 |
| 1905..... | 110.6 | 120.0 | 116.2 | 139.3 | 119.4 | 115.8 | 123.6 | 118.6 | 123.5 | 131.3 | 111.4 | 109.3 | 101.8 | 108.1 |
| 1906..... | 114.2 | 124.4 | 120.5 | 150.5 | 127.8 | 127.3 | 128.0 | 108.3 | 124.5 | 134.2 | 118.3 | 114.6 | 97.2 | 110.0 |
| 1907..... | 116.7 | 128.4 | 123.0 | 157.7 | 131.0 | 133.5 | 131.3 | 118.2 | 133.5 | 138.2 | 127.3 | 122.2 | 98.7 | 118.9 |
| 1908..... | 119.9 | 135.5 | 126.7 | 163.2 | 133.8 | 134.3 | 134.9 | 127.1 | 142.6 | 142.8 | 127.9 | 129.8 | 101.3 | 123.2 |
| 1909..... | 126.1 | 140.6 | 132.2 | 176.4 | 142.1 | 150.5 | 145.7 | 138.1 | 145.7 | 154.7 | 134.3 | 133.4 | 100.0 | 126.2 |
| 1910..... | 134.0 | 149.9 | 137.7 | 204.4 | 159.4 | 172.9 | 155.0 | 135.9 | 147.9 | 158.2 | 139.9 | 119.5 | 102.5 | 131.6 |
| 1911..... | 134.9 | 152.6 | 138.6 | 197.2 | 156.9 | 145.3 | 151.6 | 127.9 | 147.2 | 150.2 | 131.3 | 157.0 | 111.1 | 132.7 |
| 1912..... | 153.0 | 174.3 | 155.5 | 199.0 | 160.4 | 154.3 | 158.3 | 132.9 | 160.3 | 162.5 | 147.4 | 168.2 | 108.8 | 135.6 |

b) INCREASE IN THE COST OF FOOD AND OTHER COMMODITIES.

(From National Socialist Handbook No. 2.)

| Year. | Food | Clothing. | House furnishings. | All commodities. |
|-----------|-------|-----------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1897..... | 87.7 | 91.1 | 89.8 | 89.7 |
| 1898..... | 94.4 | 93.4 | 92.0 | 93.4 |
| 1899..... | 98.3 | 96.7 | 95.1 | 101.7 |
| 1900..... | 104.2 | 106.8 | 106.1 | 110.5 |
| 1901..... | 105.9 | 101.0 | 110.9 | 108.5 |
| 1902..... | 111.3 | 102 | 112.2 | 112.9 |
| 1903..... | 107.1 | 106.6 | 113.0 | 113.6 |
| 1904..... | 107.2 | 109.8 | 111.7 | 113.0 |
| 1905..... | 108.7 | 112 | 109.1 | 115.9 |
| 1906..... | 112.6 | 120 | 111.0 | 122.5 |
| 1907..... | 117.8 | 126.7 | 118.5 | 129.5 |
| 1908..... | 120.6 | 116.9 | 114.0 | 122.8 |
| 1909..... | 124.7 | 119.6 | 111.7 | 126.5 |
| 1910..... | 128.7 | 123.7 | 111.6 | 131.6 |

The above figures show an increase of 46.7 per cent in the average price of all commodities between 1897 and 1910. The index figures computed by Bradstreet's show \$5.9124 for 1896 and \$9.5050 for January 1, 1913, an increase in seventeen years of \$3.0934, or 60.8 per cent.

(c) PER CENT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE IN RETAIL PRICES OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF FOOD—PRICE ON JULY 15 AND AUGUST 15, 1913, COMPARED WITH THE AVERAGE PRICE FOR THE 10-YEAR PERIOD 1890 TO 1899, BY ARTICLES.

(From Bulletin of United States Bureau of Labor No. 136, p. 7.)

| Article. | Price July 15, 1913— Higher than 10-year period 1890-1899. Per cent. | Price Aug. 15, 1913— Lower than 10-year period 1890-1899. Per cent. | Higher than 10-year period 1890-1899. Per cent. | Lower than 10-year period 1890-1899. Per cent. |
|------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| Sirloin steak | 79.0 | .. | 79.3 | .. |
| Round steak | 107.3 | .. | 108.4 | .. |
| Rib roast | 75.9 | .. | 76.5 | .. |
| Pork chops | 120.4 | .. | 124.5 | .. |
| Bacon, smoked | 135.5 | .. | 138.0 | .. |
| Ham, smoked | 89.6 | .. | 92.2 | .. |
| Lard, pure | 67.7 | .. | 69.8 | .. |
| Hens | 75.6 | .. | 73.2 | .. |
| Flour, wheat | 28.8 | .. | 27.9 | .. |
| Eggs, strictly fresh.. | 49.4 | .. | 60.0 | .. |
| Butter, creamery | 39.8 | .. | 66.4 | .. |
| Corn meal | 57.7 | .. | 41.9 | .. |
| Potatoes, Irish | 74.2 | .. | 75.2 | .. |
| Sugar, granulated... | .. | 4.8 | .. | 2.3 |
| Milk, fresh | 38.3 | .. | 38.8 | .. |

(d) RETAIL PRICES IN A TYPICAL STORE IN SPRING, 1910, AND SPRING, 1900.

(From Senate Document No. 847, Vol. I, page 41.)

| Article. | Unit. | Retail price in spring. 1910 | Retail price in spring. 1900 | Increase in spring, 1910, over spring, 1900. Am't Per cent |
|---|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| Bacon, Ferris boneless strip.. | pound | \$.26 | \$.15 | \$.11 73.3 |
| Ham— | | | | |
| Ferris city, cured..... | pound | .20 | .15 | .05 33.3 |
| Westphalia, imported..... | pound | .45 | .38 | .07 18.4 |
| Flour, wheat— | | | | |
| Pillsbury's Best..... | half-barrel | 3.85 | 2.60 | 1.25 48.1 |
| Washburn's Gold Medal..... | barrel | 7.45 | 4.75 | 2.70 56.8 |
| Flour, rye..... | barrel | 5.85 | 4.25 | 1.60 37.6 |
| Butter, creamery..... | pound | .41 | .28 | .13 46.4 |
| Sugar— | | | | |
| Cut loaf..... | pound | .07 | .05 7/8 | .01 1/8 19.1 |
| Granulated | pound | .06 | .05 3/4 | .00 3/4 11.6 |
| Coffee, ground, mixed and roasted in bean— | | | | |
| Maracalbo | Per pound | .18 | .18 | (*) (*) |
| Java and Mocha..... | in | .33 | .30 | .03 10.0 |
| Old Government | 5-pound | .33 | .33 | (*) (*) |
| Mocha | lots | .33 | .24 | .09 37.5 |
| Meal, corn— | | | | |
| Yellow..... | 7-pound package | .25 | .16 | .09 56.3 |
| White..... | 7-pound package | .25 | .16 | .09 56.3 |
| Eggs— | | | | |
| Strictly fresh..... | dozen | .42 | .18 | .24 133.3 |
| Ordinary | dozen | .30 | .16 | .14 87.5 |
| Lard..... | 3-pound pail | .69 | .33 | .36 109.1 |

(*No change.)

7. Is the Advance in Wages Keeping Pace with the Increased Cost of Living?

(a) THE GOVERNMENT'S OPINION.

(From Senate Document No. 847, Vol. I, page 52.)

Wages have not advanced as rapidly as have prices and practically all labor difficulties which have been the subject of mediation in the United States during the past two or three years have had as their basis the advanced cost of living. In the United States wages have advanced much more rapidly than they have in European countries, in fact in some European countries practically no advance has been made during the ten years under consideration.

Wages in the United States advanced in about the same degree as did prices until 1907. Owing to the industrial depression of 1908, following the financial panic of the fall of 1907, wages dropped considerably and in 1909 hardly more than regained the high point reached in 1907.

Wages at the present time are not on as high a level as are food prices. Salaries have advanced but very little during the past ten years.

(b) AN EMPLOYER'S OPINION.

(From Senate Document No. 847, Vol. II, page 410.)

Senator Smoot: Do you pay higher wages today than you did five years ago?

Mr. Eubank: Yes, sir.

Senator Smoot: About how much?

Mr. Eubank: I should say 25 per cent higher.

Senator Smoot: How much higher are they today than they were ten years ago?

Mr. Eubank: Well, I can not really answer that question satisfactorily. Wages are higher than they have been. They have been gradually getting higher every year.

Senator Smoot: Since 1900?

Mr. Eubank: Yes, sir.

Senator Smoot: Do you think the wages you pay have advanced as much in proportion as the prices of groceries and the stuff that you sell?

Mr. Eubank: I do not think they have, because if I had to work for the salary that some of my clerks get—and I pay them \$60 a month—I could not live on it. At the same time, \$60 is right good pay for a grocer's clerk.

Senator Smoot: You could live on it if you lived the way they do?

Mr. Eubank: Yes, sir; but they hardly live. I know that.

(c) THE DECLINE IN STEEL WAGES.

(By John Moody, Editor Moody's Magazine.)

In his testimony recently before the Congressional Investigating Committee, Mr. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, furnished a table showing the number of employes of the corporation for each year from 1902 to 1912 inclusive, the total payroll for each year and the average annual wage of each employe. According to this table, the average wage has risen from \$717 in 1902 to \$857 in 1912, an increase of about 20 per cent.

This increase of 20 per cent in nominal wages is really not as significant as Mr. Farrell would have the public believe. In the total payroll of the big corporation are included not only the wages paid to labor, but the salaries of all officials, superintendents, managers, clerks, etc. Thus the average for each as shown in the table is very much higher than would be an exhibit

showing the pay to the workers alone. Probably with the officers' and managers' salaries eliminated we would find that the average per man, for over 200,000 actual workers, would be at least 20 per cent below the figures presented.

However, taking these figures of Mr. Farrell's for what they are worth, let us see what they really signify in the light of their purchasing power. That is, let us see how the real wages of 1912 compare with those of 1902. Taking Bradstreet's index number of commodity prices and applying it to this table, we get the following exhibit:

| | Average nominal wage. | Average real wage. |
|-----------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1902..... | \$717 | \$717 |
| 1903..... | 720 | 702 |
| 1904..... | 677 | 670 |
| 1905..... | 711 | 696 |
| 1906..... | 730 | 672 |
| 1907..... | 765 | 673 |
| 1908..... | 729 | 699 |
| 1909..... | 776 | 691 |
| 1910..... | 801 | 688 |
| 1911..... | 820 | 672 |
| 1912..... | 857 | 643 |

Thus we find that in "real wages" (purchasing power) there has really been a **decline** since 1902 of over 10 per cent instead of a gain of 20 per cent.

These figures are really ultra-conservative, for the reason that Bradstreet's index number is not an accurately weighted index of prices and always tends to show less than the real condition when prices are advancing. The United States Labor Department now issues a more scientific index number, but its records do not go back to 1902. Messrs. R. G. Dun & Co. formerly published an index number which was properly weighted, but they discontinued it in 1907 when the results began to reflect really alarming conditions in the rise in the average cost of living. So we still have to depend on Bradstreet for comparisons of this kind.

(d) SUMMARY OF STATISTICS—RELATIVE INCREASE IN COST OF LIVING AND IN WAGES.

(Figures gathered from Reports of United States Bureau of Labor.)

| | |
|--|--------|
| Increase in wages from 1896 to 1908..... | 19.00% |
| Increase in union wages (50 different trades), 1907 to 1912..... | 12.08% |
| Increase in wholesale prices, 1900 to 1910..... | 21.1 % |
| Increase in retail prices (30 usual articles of food), 1900 to 1907..... | 19.3 % |
| Increase in retail food prices, 1900 to 1913..... | 42.7 % |
| Increase in retail food prices, 1907 to 1913..... | 22.6 % |

8. Labor Conditions.

(a) LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE STEEL MILLS.

"A twelve-hour working day for seven days a week is a reproach to our great industry."—Judge Elbert Henry Gary, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the United States Steel Corporation.

(Literary Digest, January 16, 1909.)

Pittsburgh is to industrial America what Washington is to the nation politically, and for this reason a group of from ten to thirty expert sociologists have been investigating Pittsburgh for a year, finding out things that the city itself did not know, and laying the foundations for reforms to stop the loss of life that is wasting the city's human assets. This investigation is called the "Pittsburgh Survey," and is partly financed by the Russell Sage Foundation. Its results are published in "Charities and the Commons" (New York). Pittsburgh is a city of Slavs, Italians, Poles, negroes, Irish, Scotch, English, German, Jews,

Syrians, Bohemians, Japanese, Corn-Planter Indians and Americans, * * * all these races are in Pittsburgh with one object—to work. And if work is their object, it would seem that they get their fill of it. Twelve hours a day is the rule for most of them, leaving them so exhausted that there is no time or inclination for reading, recreation, religion, or even home life. One man, after many years of such work, remarked that he would have been happier in the penitentiary.

It was found that as high as 50 per cent of all young foreigners who come to Pittsburgh contract typhoid fever within two years of their arrival. Employment agencies, under no adequate supervision, were discovered in some places to be carrying on an infamous business. In one part of Homestead, near the Carnegie Steel Works, it was found that one baby in every three died before seeing its second birthday. Worst of all is the frightful toll of life taken by accidents. A Japanese veteran of the recent war told one of the investigators that "he looks upon his experience upon battlefields as quite commonplace compared with his experience in the steel mills." Over 500 men are killed every year in the course of their work, and an unknown number seriously injured. The victims are usually the pick of the men: **they are the young men; half of them are native born; 51 per cent have families and 30 per cent more are single men who partly or wholly support their families.**

The money loss to Pittsburgh from this destruction of the workers is enormous, and the city is told that it can well afford to spend millions in devising ways to stop it.

(b) INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

(Gordon Thayer in Everybody's Magazine, February, 1914.)

This is a theme of blood and iron.

It deals with a Government that, out of its industrial army of 14,000,000 souls, permits a yearly toll of over 36,000 deaths; **nearly 2,000,000 accidents**, of which 500,000 are serious (more **than were slain or wounded** throughout the whole of the Russo-Japanese war); and 3,000,000 cases of illness due to controllable unsanitary causes.

It lifts the cloak of virtue from the shoulders of those who—representing a nation which during the past ten years has matched a Spanish and Philippine war-record of less than 6,000 **killed or wounded** against an industrial record of over 5,000,000 **killed or wounded** in its "savage wars of peace"—would teach the ethics of humanity to our manufacturing competitors.

Shall we, who in the last decade have killed or injured 875 men and women bread winners for every single victim of our militarism, preach the sanctity of human life to the Lords of War?

Every sixteen minutes, with pitiless iteration, somewhere in our country a worker is killed at his task.

This is the more damning in that it has been proved unnecessary.

Of all the nations of the earth, America is the most wasteful of the lives of its citizens. Seventy-five thousand of our people are killed each year by accidents, of which number 35,000 are workmen slain while engaged in their daily occupations. If we add to these figures the number of the wounded and crippled in industry, we shall find that Mr. Mercer of the Minnesota Employers' Compensation Commission is not far wrong in claiming that industry now kills and cripples more each year than did bullet and shrapnel in any year of the Civil War.—John Randolph Haynes, M. D., Special Commissioner on Mining Accidents, State of California.

Killing Men in the Steel Mills.

(From Technical Paper No. 61, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, page 20.)

Accidents in the Iron and Steel Industry, for the year ending June 30, 1910, on a basis of a 300-day year. (b)

| Department. | Number of departments giving complete reports. | Number men on (a) pay roll. | Number of 300-day workers. | Total | Fatalities. Rate per 1,000 day workers. | Permanent injuries. Rate per 1,000 day workers. | Temporary disabilities. Rate per 1,000 day workers. |
|---|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-------|---|---|---|
| Blast furnaces..... | 57 | 19,097 | 19,604 | 60 | 3.06 | 2.55 | 4,937 |
| Bessemer steel works..... | 15 | 4,036 | 3,668 | 16 | 4.36 | 3.00 | 1,525 |
| Open-hearth steel works..... | 32 | 8,983 | 9,017 | 30 | 3.33 | 4.21 | 2,999 |
| Puddling plant..... | 12 | 1,387 | 1,239 | 28 | 2.06 | ... | 62 |
| Rolling mills (mechanical operators) 36 | | 14,938 | 13,566 | 28 | 1.03 | 2.95 | 4,131 |
| Rolling mills (hand operators)..... | 62 | 12,823 | 10,675 | 11 | 1.32 | 2.62 | 3,872 |
| Mechanical departments..... | 53 | 18,551 | 17,421 | 23 | 2.86 | 1.78 | 3,093 |
| Yards..... | 52 | 17,975 | 16,441 | 47 | 0.49 | 1.40 | 2,413 |
| Steel Foundries..... | 33 | 17,145 | 16,480 | 8 | 1.32 | 2.25 | 2,153 |
| Departments not specific..... | .. | 43,669 | 38,868 | 51 | 1.86 | 3.67 | 9,179 |
| Total, or average..... | .. | 158,604 | 146,979 | 274 | 1.86 | 2.72 | 35,364 |

(a) These figures represent approximately 75 per cent of the industry, and are complete for 155 plants.

(b) Compiled from Senate Document 110, 62d Congress, First Session "Conditions of Employments in the Iron and Steel Industry in the United States," by Charles P. Neill, Vol. 4, pp. 25-43.

Railroad Accidents.

Number of Employees Killed and Injured, 1891-1913.
(Gathered from the Annual Reports of the United States Commerce Commission.)

| | Employees | |
|------|-----------|----------|
| | Killed. | Injured. |
| 1891 | 2,660 | 26,140 |
| 1892 | 2,554 | 28,267 |
| 1893 | 2,727 | 31,379 |
| 1894 | 1,823 | 23,422 |
| 1895 | 1,811 | 25,696 |
| 1896 | 1,861 | 29,969 |
| 1897 | 1,693 | 27,667 |
| 1898 | 1,958 | 31,761 |
| 1899 | 2,210 | 34,923 |
| 1900 | 2,550 | 39,643 |
| 1901 | 2,675 | 41,142 |
| 1902 | 2,969 | 50,524 |
| 1903 | 3,606 | 60,481 |
| 1904 | 3,632 | 67,067 |
| 1905 | 3,361 | 66,833 |
| 1906 | 3,807 | 55,524 |
| 1907 | 4,353 | 62,689 |
| 1908 | 3,358 | 56,344 |
| 1909 | 2,456 | 51,804 |
| 1910 | 3,371 | 68,546 |
| 1911 | 3,163 | 46,802 |
| 1912 | 3,235 | 50,079 |
| 1913 | 3,301 | 57,797 |

Railway Employees Killed in the United States in Comparison With Other Countries.

(From a Statement by Representative David J. Lewis in Senate Document No. 90, Sixty-second Congress, First Session.)

| | Number employees to 1 killed. 1 injured. | |
|--------------------|---|-----|
| 1. United States | 421 | 19 |
| 2. Canada | 552 | 118 |
| 3. Argentine | 928 | 258 |
| 4. Prussia | 984 | 485 |
| 5. Hungary | 988 | 496 |
| 6. Germany | 1,016 | 431 |
| 7. Denmark | 1,017 | 588 |
| 8. Sweden | 1,031 | 250 |
| 9. France | 1,068 | 517 |
| 10. Switzerland | 1,071 | 26 |
| 11. Russia | 1,180 | 261 |
| 12. United Kingdom | 1,351 | 134 |
| 13. Belgium | 1,380 | 113 |
| 14. Norway | 2,125 | 340 |
| 15. Austria | 2,205 | 160 |

The figures are for annual casualties, based generally on five-year averages, from 1905 to 1909, inclusive.

"Railroad employes point to the fact that every 6 minutes, day and night, year after year, one of their number is killed or injured. The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen paid one claim for every 67 members in the year 1912."—W. G. Lee, Head of Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

etal Mine Accidents in the United States During the Calendar Year 1912.

From Technical Paper No. 61, Department of the Interior,
Bureau of Mines, page 31.)

| Kind of Mine | Number of employees. | Number killed. | | Number seriously injured. | | Number slightly injured. | | Widows. | Orphans. |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|----------|
| | | Total under- ground & surface. | Rate per 1,000 employed. | Total under- ground & surface. | Rate per 1,000 employed. | Total under- ground & surface. | Rate per 1,000 employed. | | |
| Copper | Total | 51,776 | 4.62 | 1,807 | 34.90 | 11,830 | 228.48 | 87 | 159 |
| Gold and miscellaneous metal | | 44,144 | 3.99 | 613 | 13.89 | 3,180 | 72.04 | 71 | 98 |
| Iron | | 45,746 | 3.76 | 1,800 | 39.35 | 8,707 | 190.33 | 84 | 198 |
| Lead and zinc (Mississippi) | | 14,332 | 3.77 | 147 | 10.26 | 1,849 | 129.01 | 26 | 62 |
| Lead valley only) | | 13,201 | 1.52 | 135 | 10.23 | 666 | 50.45 | 5 | 3 |
| Miscellaneous mineral | | | | 4,502 | ..... | 26,232 | ..... | 273 | 520 |
| Total | 169,199 | 661 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 155.04 | ..... | ..... |
| Average ..... | ..... | ..... | 3.91 | ..... | 26.61 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

Coal Mine Accidents in the United States, 1896-1912.
(From Technical Paper No. 48, Department of the Interior,
Bureau of Mines, page 13.)

| Year | Number employed | Total killed. | Per 1,000 employed | Per 1,000,000 short tons mined. | Production per death (short tons) | Number injured. |
|------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1896 | 383,258 | 1,089 | 2.84 | 5.87 | 170,000 | |
| 1897 | 385,846 | 975 | 2.53 | 5.04 | 198,000 | |
| 1898 | 391,841 | 1,064 | 2.72 | 4.98 | 201,000 | |
| 1899 | 396,624 | 1,216 | 3.07 | 4.97 | 201,000 | |
| 1900 | 432,453 | 1,492 | 3.45 | 5.73 | 174,000 | |
| 1901 | 476,655 | 1,549 | 3.25 | 5.37 | 186,000 | |
| 1902 | 510,437 | 1,895 | 3.71 | 6.39 | 157,000 | |
| 1903 | 547,431 | 1,752 | 3.20 | 5.08 | 197,000 | |
| 1904 | 573,373 | 2,004 | 3.50 | 5.91 | 169,000 | |
| 1905 | 615,628 | 2,232 | 3.63 | 5.78 | 173,000 | 4,402 |
| 1906 | 631,086 | 2,116 | 3.35 | 5.19 | 193,000 | 4,800 |
| 1907 | 655,418 | 3,197 | 4.88 | 6.93 | 144,000 | 5,316 |
| 1908 | 672,794 | 2,449 | 3.64 | 6.05 | 165,000 | 6,772 |
| 1909 | 666,523 | 2,668 | 4.00 | 5.79 | 173,000 | 7,979 |
| 1910 | 725,030 | 2,840 | 3.92 | 5.66 | 177,000 | 7,830 |
| 1911 | 728,348 | 2,719 | 3.73 | 5.48 | 183,000 | |
| 1912 | 750,000 | 2,360 | 3.15 | 4.29 | 233,000 | |

(These figures represent the production and the number of men employed in those States in which records of fatal accidents are in existence. The figures are directly comparable with the number of men killed as given in the fifth column and are those on which the mortality rates are based. It will be noted that the portion of the industry not represented in the rates from 1896 to 1909 is small and that since 1909 the entire industry is represented.)

Metal Mine Accidents in the United States During the Calendar Year 1912.

(From Technical Paper No. 61, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, page 74.)

Comparison of the number of men employed in the metal mines of the principal countries, showing the fatality rate per 1,000 persons employed. (a).

| Country. | 1909 Number employed. | Number killed. | Number killed per 1,000 employed. |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|----------------|---|
| Australasia: | | | |
| New South Wales.. | 17,836 | 20 | 1.12 |
| New Zealand..... | 7,651 | 14 | 1.83 |
| Queensland | 12,050 | 26 | 2.16 |
| Tasmania (b) | 6,054 | 6 | 0.99 |
| Victoria | 18,671 | 15 | 0.80 |
| Western Australia | 17,027 | 33 | 1.94 |
| Austria | 19,582 | 19 | 0.97 |
| France | 24,436 | 73 | 2.99 |
| Germany | 93,928 | 91 | 0.97 |
| Great Britain (c) | 28,437 | 40 | 1.41 |
| Greece | 8,389 | 13 | 1.55 |
| Italy | 52,648 | 69 | 1.31 |
| Japan | 81,312 | 138 | 1.70 |
| Mexico (d) | 81,438 | 471 | 5.78 |
| Peru (d) | 17,580 | 21 | 1.19 |
| Portugal | 7,858 | 11 | 1.40 |
| Russia | | | |
| Spain (e) | 121,866 | 282 | 2.31 |
| Sweden (f) | 13,238 | 16 | 1.21 |
| Transvaal | 192,038 | 1,018 | 5.30 |
| United States (g) | 165,979 | 695 | 4.19 |

(a) Compiled from official reports.

(b) Figures for mines in Tasmania also cover coal mines and smelting works.

(c) Figures cover only mines coming under the "Metalliferous Mines Regulation Act."

(d) Figures also cover coal mines.

(e) Figures also cover mines in which about 25,000 men are employed annually.

(f) Figures also cover coal mines and quarries.

(g) Figures for 1911.

Comparison of Number of Fatalities in Metal Mines, Coal Mines and Quarries During the Year 1912.

(From Technical Paper No. 61, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Mines, page 5.)

| Kind of mines. | Number employed. | Total. | Number killed. Number per 1,000 employed. |
|---------------------|------------------|--------|---|
| Metal mines | 169,199 | 661 | 3.91 |
| Coal mines | 722,662 | 2,360 | 3.27 |
| Quarries | 113,105 | 213 | 1.88 |
| Total for 1912..... | 1,004,966 | 3,234 | 3.23 |
| Total for 1911..... | 1,005,281 | 3,602 | 3.58 |

Accidents on Farms.

(From Socialist Handbook No. 1.)

"I have looked around for information and find abundant evidence for believing that, relatively, farm hazards are even more pronounced in American than in European countries," This statement appears in the printed hearings before the Federal Commission on Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation.

These figures show some of the facts upon which the above is based: "Accident insurance rates: Textile operatives, rated ordinary or medium, \$7.50—\$10 per annum; machinists, rated medium or special, \$10—\$12.50 per annum; carpenters, rated special or hazardous, \$12.50—\$15 per annum."

Ten years' experience of a large American casualty company shows that the average premiums of mill operatives, cotton and wool, was about \$8 per year, while that of the farmer was about \$12.50.

In the course of five years in Canada mine non-fatal accidents decreased 50 per cent; farm non-fatal accidents increased 87 per cent.

Agricultural teaming was responsible for 10,486 accidents a year.

Farmers' hand tools were responsible for 4,482 accidents in one year.

Accidents to the number of 5,718 among farm workers were caused by cutting, handling and hauling timber in one year.

Accidents to the number of 1,777, including 17 deaths, were caused by feed-cutting machines in one year.

Threshing machines were responsible for 1,296 accidents in one year.

Fatal Accidents in Various Occupations.

(The trades are classed here according to their danger.)

| Occupation. | Years. | Persons employed. | No. Killed. | No. for every 1,000 emp'd. |
|--|-----------|---------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Railroad brakemen | 1900-1902 | 10,116 | 150 | 15.3 |
| 2 Gloucester fishermen | 1892-1900 | 52,000 | 692 | 13.3 |
| 3 R. R. switch and flagmen | 1900-1902 | 5,717 | 41 | 7.2 |
| 4 Gunpowder | Estimated | from correspondence | | 10.5 |
| 5 Railroad firemen | 1900-1902 | 6,238 | 45 | 7.2 |
| 6 Railroad engineers | 1900-1902 | 15,621 | 106 | 6.8 |
| 7 Dynamite manufacturers.. | Estimated | from correspondence | | 6.7 |
| 8 Railroad conductors | 1900-1902 | 5,074 | 31 | 6.1 |
| 9 Anthracite coal miners.... | 1892-1901 | 352,807 | 1,978 | 5.6 |
| 10 U. S. Army, war period... | 1898-1901 | 446,221 | 2,251 | 5.0 |
| 11 U. S. Navy, war period... | 1898-1901 | 95,434 | 464 | 4.6 |
| 12 Bitum. mine laborers (Pa.) | 1892-1901 | 22,792 | 107 | 4.7 |
| 13 Anthr. mine laborers (Pa.) | 1892-1901 | 245,893 | 1,122 | 4.6 |
| 14 Metal miners (Montana).. | 1893-1902 | 101,974 | 439 | 4.3 |
| 15 Drivers and runners, anthracite (Pa.) | 1892-1901 | 101,231 | 379 | 3.7 |
| 16 Lead & zinc miners (Mo.) | 1892-1901 | 77,579 | 243 | 3.2 |
| 17 Metal miners (Colo.).... | 1896-1901 | 201,572 | 646 | 3.2 |
| 18 Railroad laborers | 1900-1902 | 17,668 | 51 | 2.9 |
| 19 Copper miners (Mich.) ... | 1891-1900 | 91,917 | 261 | 2.8 |
| 20 Anthr. fire bosses (Pa.).. | 1892-1901 | 10,062 | 25 | 2.5 |
| 21 P'd firemen in Am. cities.. | 1885-1900 | 177,954 | 447 | 2.5 |
| 22 Bituminous coal miners.. | 1892-1901 | 631,374 | 1,383 | 2.2 |
| 23 Railroad trackmen | 1900-1902 | 34,472 | 77 | 2.2 |
| 24 Railroad section foremen.. | 1900-1902 | 5,896 | 13 | 2.2 |
| 25 U. S. Army, peace period.. | 1894-1897 | 109,555 | 197 | 1.8 |
| 26 U. S. Life-saving service.. | 1876-1902 | 43,240 | 65 | 1.5 |
| 27 U. S. Navy, peace period.. | 1894-1897 | 55,641 | 67 | 1.2 |
| 28 Railway mail clerks..... | 1892-1901 | 85,489 | 78 | 0.9 |
| 29 Elec. street r'way employes | 1902 | 140,376 | 122 | 0.9 |
| 30 Policemen in Amer. cities | 1885-1900 | 287,447 | 209 | 0.7 |

Nos. 10 and 11 show the men killed in war, and war is supposed to be a very dangerous occupation. It is considered so dangerous, indeed, that men are pensioned because they must face that danger. Yet we find that three times as many men are killed as brakemen on railroads as are killed in war. We find that mine laborers face every day of their lives danger as great as men must face in battle.

To get legal protection for workingmen at Congress is well nigh impossible, yet day after day railroad men, fishermen, mine laborers and others face death.—Robert Hunter.

The Butcheries of Peace.

(National Socialist Handbook No. 1.)

Fresh light is thrown on the frightful list of fatal accidents in modern industry by the new Bulletin 109 of the Bureau of the Census. It is entitled "Mortality Statistics, 1910," and it gives detailed data regarding deaths in the "registration area." This area is that part of the United States in which the laws requiring the registration of births and deaths are sufficiently comprehensive and rigorous to insure approximately correct figures. It consists of California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, the municipalities of 1,000 and more population in North Carolina, and 43 cities in non-registration states. It contained on July 1, 1910, 53,843,896 population, or 58.3 per cent of the total for the United States.

The suicides in this area numbered 8,590; the homicides or murders, 3,190. If the remainder of the country showed the same percentages, there must have been about 14,700 of the former and some 5,470 of the latter. It is probable, however, that suicides were fewer than the indicated number and homicides considerably more.

But it is to the deaths listed as accidents that we turn for the most interesting data. They are classified by causes as follows:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| Food poisoning | 157 |
| Other poisoning | 1,227 |
| Fires | 745 |
| Burns (fire excepted) | 4,182 |
| Suffocation by gas | 1,379 |
| Drowning | 4,818 |
| Accidental shooting | 1,161 |
| Accidental cutting | 89 |
| Falls | 8,305 |
| Mine and quarry accidents | 2,484 |
| Machine accidents | 1,299 |
| Railroad accidents | 7,877 |
| Street car accidents | 1,949 |
| Automobile accidents | 980 |
| Accidents from other vehicles | 1,940 |
| Landslides | 556 |
| Injuries by animals | 502 |
| Starvation | 38 |
| Excessive cold | 254 |
| Effects of heat | 826 |
| Lightning | 156 |
| Electricity (except lightning) | 478 |
| Fractures (not specified) | 623 |
| Other violence | 3,391 |
| Total | 45,416 |

The total (45,416) is startling. Extended to the entire country it would mean a yearly fatal accident list of about 78,000. But 15.9 per cent of these deaths are of children under 10, who, though subject to certain industrial accidents, take no part in industry themselves. They are victims of the prevailing system, with its reckless disregard of life, even if they are not participants in it.

Making all possible deductions for infants, for the fact that the accident rate is probably less in the non-registration area than in that given, and for the further fact that some part of the total of accidents is not to be attributed to the present industrial system, there yet remain about 50,000 yearly deaths which are directly due to private ownership of industry.

(c) OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES.

(Extracts from Poverty, by Robert Hunter, pages 159-161.)

There are many well-known diseases which are recognized as "marks of trade." Typesetters, telegraphers, tailors, writers, etc., suffer frequently from muscular cramps and similar afflictions. Such breakdowns may at first prevent only a free muscular action, but they are likely in the end to result in palsy and

paralysis of the overused muscles. The latter, for instance, happens very frequently to sewing machine operatives. Shop girls are likely to suffer, as a result of their occupation, from a narrow, contracted pelvis. Varicose veins and ulcers result from continuous standing. Curvature of the spine results almost inevitably from certain employments. These are but a few among many of the physical ills which result from certain specialized occupations.

Even the comparatively slight afflictions are serious to the workman, because he must work or become a pauper. The more terrible and loathsome diseases of occupation, which utterly destroy the workman's health or which cause death, are too many to mention in detail. Those diseases which result from handling or coming in contact with the poisonous materials used in the chemical industries are the ones most generally known. Lead is a commonly used poison. A very large number of workmen are employed in many different industries where they are subjected to the dangers of lead poisoning. The early symptoms of the disease are blue gums, followed by a loosening and coming out of the teeth; but blindness, paralysis and death in convulsions finally result. Miscarriages, still-births and convulsions occur frequently to women lead workers who are with child. This is one of the worst so-called poisonous trades. The dust-producing trades cause various respiratory diseases, such as miners' asthma and consumption. Mining, street sweeping and file grinding are the ones most generally known. Bakers, laundresses, tailors and dressmakers are also subject to certain diseases, resulting from their work and from insanitary conditions, which cause repeated breakdowns and a high death rate.

(d) MORTALITY.

MORTALITY TABLE SHOWING COMPARATIVE DEATH RATE FROM CONSUMPTION AMONG THE DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONS.

(From the 12th Census of United States, Vital Statistics, Part I, pp. cclxii-cxcxi.)

Figures indicate number of deaths in 1900 for every 100,000 in the same occupation.

MALES.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Marble and stone cutters..... | 540.5 |
| Cigar makers and tobacco workers..... | 476.9 |
| Servants | 420.3 |
| Bookkeepers, etc. | 398 |
| Laborers (not agricultural) | 370.7 |
| Plumbers, etc. | 294 |
| Masons | 293.9 |
| Iron and steel workers..... | 236.2 |
| Mill and factory operatives (textile)..... | 207.6 |
| Machinists | 195.9 |
| Physicians and surgeons..... | 168.8 |
| Lawyers | 139.9 |
| Clergymen | 123.5 |
| Farmers | 111.7 |
| Bankers, brokers and officials of companies..... | 92.1 |
| All occupied males | 236.7 |

FEMALES.

| | |
|--|-------|
| Servants | 219.7 |
| Telegraph and telephone operators | 205.1 |
| Bookkeepers, clerks, etc. | 198 |
| Mill and factory operatives (textile)..... | 144.1 |
| Dressmakers and seamstresses | 130.1 |
| School teachers | 126.1 |
| Nurses and midwives | 100.2 |
| Laundresses | 94.4 |
| All occupied females | 172.3 |

(The figures represent the number of deaths from consumption for every 100,000 population, of persons 10 years of age and over.)

NUMBER OF DEATHS FROM CONSUMPTION PER 100,000 OF POPULATION—BY OCCUPATION GROUPS.

Special Report on Tuberculosis, Year 1900, p. 60.)

| | |
|--|-------|
| Professional | 182.2 |
| Clerical and official | 304.2 |
| Mercantile and trading..... | 165.8 |
| Public entertainment | 268.5 |
| Personal service, police and military..... | 254.8 |
| Laboring and servant | 376.3 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industry..... | 262.1 |
| Agriculture, transportation and other outdoor..... | 147.2 |

Principal Causes of Mortality in Various Occupations
(From Technical Paper No. 48, Department of the Interior,
Bureau of Mines, page 73.)

| Occupation. | Cause of Death. | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|------------|---------------|---|-------------------|---|-------------------|
| | Heart Disease. | Accidents. | Tuberculosis. | Pneumonia and other respiratory diseases. | Urinary diseases. | Apoplexy, paralysis and other nervous diseases. | All other causes. |
| | | | —Per cent.— | | | | |
| Coal miners | 6.8 | 22.9 | 11.1 | 20.7 | 8.0 | 7.7 | 22.8 |
| Iron and steel workers | 8.8 | 15.3 | 19.4 | 12.5 | 9.9 | 10.0 | 24.1 |
| Machinists | 8.7 | 10.0 | 27.7 | 10.4 | 10.0 | 9.1 | 24.1 |
| Masons | 10.1 | 9.0 | 17.7 | 13.4 | 13.0 | 10.1 | 28.7 |
| Painters | 8.1 | 8.6 | 23.8 | 9.9 | 15.1 | 10.7 | 23.8 |
| Carpenters | 11.4 | 7.8 | 16.1 | 11.1 | 13.4 | 13.6 | 26.6 |
| Textile workers | 9.1 | 7.0 | 28.4 | 12.4 | 11.5 | 9.4 | 22.2 |
| Clerks | 7.9 | 6.7 | 36.7 | 10.3 | 9.6 | 8.1 | 20.7 |
| Farmers | 12.7 | 5.8 | 10.2 | 11.9 | 12.9 | 17.1 | 29.4 |

Principal causes of deaths among coal and metal miners (ages 25 to 64).

| Occupation. | Cause of Death. | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| | Accidents. | Tuberculosis and pneumonia. | All other causes. |
| | | —Per cent.— | |
| Coal miners (1907-1910)..... | 22.92 | 25.28 | 51.80 |
| Copper miners in one of the principal copper-producing states (1907-1911) | 17.06 | 43.45 | 39.49 |
| Metal miners (1911) | 30.51 | 31.63 | 37.86 |

(e) UNEMPLOYMENT.

(From the Proceedings of the First National Conference on Unemployment, held in New York, February 27-28, 1914, under the auspices of the American Association for Labor Legislation in Affiliation with American Section, International Association on Unemployment.)

After investigation in New York City during the winter of 1913-1914, the superintendent of the employment bureau of an old and conservative organization—the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor—estimated on February, 1914, that “on any given day this winter there are at least 325,000 men unemployed in this city.” At the same time relief agencies in many other cities were swamped. Municipal lodging houses were turning away many genuine seekers after work—to sleep on bare boards at the docks, in warehouses, even in morgues.

But while relief agencies struggle with their problems of emergency relief, we do not forget that **serious irregularity of employment** is not temporary in America. It is continually one of our most wasteful industrial evils.

The United States Census for 1900 showed that 6,469,964 working people, or nearly 25 per cent of all engaged in gainful occupations, had been unemployed some time during the year. Of these

3,177,753 lost from one to three months each, representing on the basis of \$10 a week a loss in wages of approximately \$200,000,000;

2,554,925 lost from four to six months' work each, representing a wage loss of approximately \$500,000,000; and

736,286 lost from seven to twelve months' work each, representing a wage loss of approximately \$300,000,000.

Thus approximately \$1,000,000,000 was lost in wages in the year.

On this subject the census statistics are very unsatisfactory, but they are the figures gathered and published at great expense by the United States government. Similar data were collected by the government in 1910, but they are still unpublished.

In 1901 the federal Bureau of Labor investigated 24,402 working class families in 33 states, and found that 12,154 heads of families had been unemployed for an average period of 9.43 weeks during the year. The New York State Department of Labor collected reports each month during the ten years 1901-1911 from organized workmen averaging in number 99,069 each month, and found that the average number unemployed each month was 14,146, or 18.1 per cent.

The federal Census of Manufactures for 1905 gives the "average number of wage earners each month, and the greatest and least number employed at any one time." At one time 7,017,138 were employed, while at another time there were only 4,599,091, leaving a difference of 2,418,047. That is to say, nearly 2,500,000 workers were either unemployed or compelled to seek a new employer during the year. These figures were drawn from the manufacturers' own records.

Unemployed in Various States.

The following table was prepared by Mr. Stoddel for the Ethical Social League of New York and printed in the Washington Post of April 7, 1908.

According to the reports from our organizers and representatives in the various states, the number of unemployed up to date are:

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----------------------|-----------|
| California | 95,000 | Indiana | 60,000 |
| Connecticut | 55,000 | Tennessee | 23,000 |
| Massachusetts | 95,000 | Louisiana | 47,000 |
| Montana | 18,000 | Alabama | 39,000 |
| New York | 750,000 | Colorado | 46,500 |
| Ohio | 200,000 | Illinois | 300,000 |
| New Jersey | 80,000 | Missouri | 85,000 |
| Maryland | 75,000 | Rhode Island | 30,000 |
| West Virginia | 40,000 | Pennsylvania | 350,000 |
| South Carolina | 30,000 | Michigan | 135,000 |
| Florida | 45,000 | Delaware | 30,000 |
| Washington | 44,000 | Virginia | 42,000 |
| Nevada | 14,000 | North Carolina | 36,000 |
| Nebraska | 19,500 | Georgia | 27,000 |
| Minnesota | 43,000 | Oregon | 51,000 |
| Arizona | 12,000 | Idaho | 26,000 |
| The Dakotas | 26,000 | Wisconsin | 92,000 |
| Kentucky | 36,000 | Arkansas | 21,000 |
| Texas | 40,000 | | |
| | | Total | 3,160,000 |

Proportion of Unemployed in Various Occupations.

(From the Census Volume on Occupations.)

| | 1900 | | 1890 | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| Agricultural pursuits | 2,144,689 | 20.7 | 1,020,205 | 11.2 |
| Professional pursuits | 330,566 | 26.3 | 142,574 | 15.1 |
| Domestic personal pursuits..... | 1,568,121 | 28.1 | 799,272 | 18.9 |
| Trade transportation pursuits..... | 500,185 | 10.5 | 262,871 | 7.9 |
| Man'f'g and mechanical pursuits..... | 1,925,403 | 27.2 | 1,298,808 | 22.9 |
| | 6,468,964 | 22.3 | 3,523,730 | 15.1 |

The percentages show the proportion of workers unemployed to the number usually employed in each of the five general divisions.

Unemployed, 1900, by Duration.

(From the Census Volume on Occupations.)

| | 1 to 3 months. | 4 to 6 months. | 7 to 12 months. | Total. |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| Males | 2,593,136 | 2,069,546 | 564,790 | 5,227,472 |
| Females | 584,617 | 485,379 | 171,496 | 1,241,492 |
| | 3,177,753 | 2,554,925 | 736,286 | 6,468,964 |

Between 1890 and 1900 there was an increase of unemployment in 125 out of 140 general groups of males and in 56 out of 63 general groups of females.

Number of Unemployed Wage Earners in Trade Unions.

(From Appeal's "Arsenal of Facts," page 136.)

| | Number reporting. | | Idle at end of each month. | | Percentage idle | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|--------|----------------------------|------|-----------------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| | Unions. | Membs. | No. | Pct. | 1908 | 1907 | 1906 | 1905 | 1904 | '02-7 |
| Jan.... | 192 | 88,604 | 25,964 | 29.3 | 36.9 | 21.5 | 15.0 | 22.5 | 25.8 | 21.0 |
| Feb.... | 192 | 89,396 | 23,727 | 26.5 | 37.5 | 20.1 | 15.3 | 19.4 | 21.6 | 18.8 |
| March.. | 192 | 90,619 | 20,836 | 23.0 | 37.5 | 18.3 | 11.6 | 19.2 | 27.1 | 18.5 |
| April.. | 192 | 89,039 | 18,042 | 20.3 | 33.9 | 10.1 | 7.3 | 11.8 | 17.0 | 13.1 |
| May.... | 192 | 89,241 | 15,228 | 17.1 | 32.2 | 10.5 | 7.0 | 8.3 | 15.9 | 12.7 |
| June.... | 192 | 89,227 | 15,503 | 17.4 | 30.2 | 8.1 | 6.3 | 9.1 | 13.7 | 12.5 |
| July.... | 190 | 89,551 | 12,459 | 13.9 | 26.8 | 8.5 | 7.6 | 8.0 | 14.8 | 12.1 |
| August.. | 190 | 90,428 | 10,799 | 11.9 | 24.6 | 12.1 | 5.8 | 7.2 | 13.7 | 10.2 |
| Sept.... | 190 | 90,783 | 13,171 | 14.5 | 24.6 | 12.3 | 6.3 | 5.9 | 12.0 | 8.7 |
| October.. | 190 | 91,247 | 12,468 | 13.7 | 23.1 | 18.5 | 6.9 | 5.6 | 10.8 | 10.8 |
| Nov.... | 190 | 91,977 | 12,206 | 13.3 | 21.5 | 22.0 | 7.6 | 6.1 | 11.1 | 12.9 |
| Dec.... | 190 | 91,162 | 18,791 | 20.6 | 28.0 | 32.7 | 15.4 | 11.1 | 19.6 | 20.7 |
| Mean ... | | | | 18.5 | 29.7 | 16.2 | 9.3 | 11.2 | 16.9 | 14.3 |

Conditions of Unemployment in the Mining Industry.
(Bulletin No. 109, Bureau of Commerce and Labor, page 28.)

| Years. | Number of days active. | | Days idle. | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------|------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| | Anthra- cite. | Bitumi- nous. | Anthracite. | | Bituminous. | |
| | | | Number. | Per cent. | Number. | Per cent. |
| 1890..... | 200 | 226 | 100 | 33.3 | 74 | 24.7 |
| 1891..... | 203 | 223 | 97 | 32.3 | 77 | 25.7 |
| 1892..... | 198 | 219 | 102 | 34.0 | 81 | 27.0 |
| 1893..... | 197 | 204 | 103 | 34.3 | 96 | 32.0 |
| 1894..... | 190 | 171 | 110 | 36.7 | 129 | 43.0 |
| 1895..... | 196 | 194 | 104 | 34.7 | 106 | 35.3 |
| 1896..... | 174 | 192 | 126 | 42.0 | 108 | 36.0 |
| 1897..... | 150 | 196 | 150 | 50.0 | 104 | 34.7 |
| 1898..... | 152 | 211 | 148 | 49.3 | 89 | 29.7 |
| 1899..... | 173 | 234 | 127 | 42.3 | 66 | 22.0 |
| 1900..... | 166 | 234 | 134 | 44.7 | 66 | 22.0 |
| 1901..... | 196 | 225 | 104 | 34.7 | 75 | 25.0 |
| 1902..... | 116 | 230 | 184 | 61.3 | 70 | 23.3 |
| 1903..... | 206 | 225 | 94 | 31.3 | 75 | 25.0 |
| 1904..... | 200 | 202 | 100 | 33.3 | 98 | 32.7 |
| 1905..... | 215 | 211 | 85 | 28.3 | 89 | 29.7 |
| 1906..... | 195 | 213 | 105 | 35.0 | 87 | 29.0 |
| 1907..... | 220 | 234 | 80 | 26.7 | 66 | 22.0 |
| 1908..... | 200 | 193 | 100 | 33.3 | 107 | 35.7 |
| 1910..... | 229 | 217 | 71 | 23.7 | 83 | 27.7 |

Causes of Unemployment.

(From Eighteenth Annual Report, United States Labor Commissioner, page 296.)

| | |
|---|-------|
| Establishments closed, unable to get work, and slack work.. | 50.64 |
| Sickness | 28.65 |
| Vacation | 6.45 |
| Bad weather | 2.25 |
| Strike | 2.07 |
| Accident | 1.66 |
| Not given | 6.63 |
| Drunkenness | .26 |

9. Child Labor.

(a) EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR BY STATES.

Number of Children Under 16 Employed at Gainful Occupations.

(From the Census Volume on Occupations, 1900.)

| State. | Males. | Females. | State. | Males. | Females. |
|---------------------------------|--------|----------|-------------------------------|--------|----------|
| Alabama | 80,989 | 41,664 | Nevada | 183 | 31 |
| Arizona | 1,358 | 624 | New Hamp- shire | 2,547 | 1,951 |
| Arkansas | 49,747 | 15,321 | New Jersey... .. | 18,457 | 11,804 |
| California ... | 7,187 | 2,132 | New Mexico... .. | 2,987 | 544 |
| Colorado | 2,903 | 597 | New York.... | 55,218 | 36,726 |
| Connecticut .. | 6,838 | 4,741 | North Caro- lina | 77,986 | 32,421 |
| Delaware | 2,781 | 1,078 | North Dakota.. | 3,125 | 1,019 |
| District of Co- lumbia | 1,365 | 779 | Ohio | 34,165 | 12,894 |
| Florida | 11,281 | 4,122 | Oklahoma (inc. I. T.)..... | 20,259 | 2,745 |
| Georgia | 77,462 | 36,502 | Oregon | 2,331 | 521 |
| Idaho | 1,395 | 141 | Pennsylvania . | 84,195 | 35,881 |
| Illinois | 50,994 | 19,541 | Rhode Island.. | 5,143 | 3,891 |
| Indiana | 26,454 | 5,692 | South Caro- lina | 56,363 | 38,917 |
| Iowa | 24,564 | 4,846 | South Dakota.. | 5,876 | 1,219 |
| Kansas | 20,304 | 2,185 | Tennessee | 63,711 | 12,651 |
| Kentucky | 53,676 | 7,441 | Texas | 73,604 | 17,967 |
| Louisiana | 39,620 | 21,427 | Utah | 2,095 | 430 |
| Maine | 3,979 | 2,013 | Vermont | 2,170 | 900 |
| Maryland | 17,034 | 7,886 | Virginia | 44,651 | 11,094 |
| Massachusetts | 16,393 | 11,475 | Washington .. | 2,807 | 578 |
| Michigan | 19,523 | 7,174 | West Virginia | 22,343 | 2,481 |
| Minnesota | 16,973 | 6,041 | Wisconsin | 20,842 | 9,673 |
| Mississippi ... | 63,906 | 34,103 | Wyoming | 795 | 111 |
| Missouri | 52,621 | 9,028 | | | |
| Montana | 929 | 270 | | | |
| Nebraska | 12,282 | 2,495 | | | |

Total U. S...1,264,411 485,767

Number of Child Workers by Age Periods.

(From the Census Volume on Occupations.)

| | | | |
|----------------|---------|----------------|-----------|
| 10 years | 142,105 | 14 years | 406,701 |
| 11 years | 158,778 | 15 years | 552,854 |
| 12 years | 221,313 | | |
| 13 years | 268,427 | Total | 1,750,173 |

Percentage of Child Workers to Total Child Population in Twenty States.

(From the Census Volume on Occupations.)

| | Males. | Females. | | Males. | Females. |
|-------------------|--------|----------|------------------|--------|----------|
| Alabama | 59.0 | 31.3 | Virginia | 33.7 | 8.5 |
| North Carolina.. | 55.1 | 23.5 | West Virginia... | 33.0 | 3.9 |
| South Carolina.. | 53.8 | 38.3 | Texas | 32.1 | 8.0 |
| Mississippi | 53.8 | 29.7 | Florida | 31.1 | 11.6 |
| Arkansas | 50.1 | 15.8 | Missouri | 25.2 | 4.4 |
| Georgia | 46.7 | 22.6 | Delaware | 24.4 | 9.8 |
| Tennessee | 43.2 | 8.9 | Rhode Island.... | 23.2 | 17.4 |
| Louisiana | 39.4 | 21.6 | New Mexico..... | 22.6 | 4.3 |
| Kentucky | 35.4 | 5.1 | Maryland | 22.5 | 10.5 |
| Oklahoma (inc. I. | | | Pennsylvania ... | 22.4 | 9.7 |
| T.) | 34.4 | 4.9 | | | |

Total Extent of Child Labor in the United States.

(Statistical Abstract of United States for 1912, page 274.)

Population 10 to 15 years of age employed as breadwinners in 1900.

Male—

| | |
|---|-----------|
| In all occupations | 1,264,411 |
| Per cent of total number of boys 10-15 years old in U. S. | 26.1 |
| In agricultural pursuits | 854,690 |
| In all other occupations | 409,721 |

Female—

| | |
|--|-----------|
| In all occupations | 475,767 |
| Per cent of total number of girls 10-15 years old in U. S. | 10.2 |
| In agricultural | 207,281 |
| All others | 278,486 |
| Total children working | 1,750,178 |
| Total number of children (10-15) in U. S..... | 9,612,252 |

(b) EVILS OF CHILD LABOR DESCRIBED.

In the Senate, January 23, 1907.

(Congressional Record, Vol. 41, Part 2, beginning page 1553.)

The census figures, appalling as they are, are notoriously inadequate. Two million children under 16 years of age is bad enough; 700,000 in factories, mills, and sweat shops is bad enough; but there is not a man or woman who has investigated this question who does not know that only a part of the children so employed were returned by the census enumerators.....The census of 1900 gives Maryland as having something over 5,000 children at work. The census bulletins of 1905 give 5,553 children under 16 at work in Maryland, of which 3,666 were in Baltimore.

In 1906 the Maryland law was amended requiring children under 16 to secure permits testifying to physical and educational requirements. The law has been in force about five months and a half, and already more than 11,00 permits have been granted and between 1,200 and 1,500 refused; so we see that in the state of Maryland the census of 1900 is by the record 100% below the truth.....Again, it is estimated and given, I think, by the census of 1900 that the total of children employed in Southern cotton mills, as, for example, in North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia, is something under 30,000. Yet the testimony of those who have investigated the conditions upon the ground and who have not taken the returns of manufacturers who have children in their employ, is that the lowest possible estimate, excluding every possible fraction of children who were questionable, numbers at least 60,000.

....I suppose we may say, putting it upon a conservative basis, that as I speak to you there are now not less than 1,000,000 children under 16 years of age (and I shall show by sworn testimony that some of them are five and six and seven years of age) at work in the coal mines, factories and sweatshops of this nation.I shall not give a single statement here today that is not now supported by an affidavit, or will not be almost immediately.....

Says Mr. Spargo: "If my little Paterson friend was 13, perhaps the nature of her employment will explain her puny, stunted body. She works in the 'steaming room' of the flax mill. All day long in a room filled with clouds of steam she has to stand barefooted in pools of water, twisting coils of wet hemp. When I saw her she was dripping wet, though she said she had worn a rubber apron all day. In the coldest evenings of winter little Marie and hundreds of other little girls must go out from the superheated steaming rooms into the bitter cold in just that condition."

To that statement Mr. Spargo makes affidavit.....

Here is Mr. Spargo's description of a glass factory: "The work of these boys is to take the boys who took the red hot bottles from the furnace, and of whom were less than twelve years old was by far the best of all. They were kept on a slow pace, and they were sent to the benches to the annealing oven and back.....

The furnace was 100 feet, and the boys made 72 trips a minute, and the distance traveled in eight hours was nearly 100 miles. The distance the boys were

carrying their hot loads to the oven. The pay of these boys varies from 60 cents to a dollar for eight hours' work.".....

Child Labor in the Coal "Breakers."—Mr. Spargo: "Clouds of dust fill the breakers and are inhaled by the boys, laying the foundation for asthma and miners' consumption.

"I once stood on a breaker for **half an hour** and tried to do the work a **12-year-old boy** was doing day after day, **fourteen hours at a stretch** for 60 cents a day.

"The gloom of the breaker appalled me. Outside the sun shone brightly, the air was pellucid, and the birds sang in chorus with the trees and rivers.

"Within the breaker there was blackness, clouds of deadly dust enfolded everything, the harsh, grinding roar of the machinery and the ceaseless rushing of coal through the chutes filled the ears.

"I tried to pick out the pieces of slate from the hurrying stream of coal, often missing them; my hands were bruised and cut in a few minutes. I was covered from head to foot with coal dust and for many hours afterwards I was expectorating some of the small particles of anthracite I had swallowed. **I could not do that work and live;** but there were boys of 10 and 12 years of age doing it **for 50 and 60 cents a day.** Some of them had never been inside of a school; few of them could read a child's primer."

Mr. Spargo has made an affidavit to the truth of these statements.....

Mr. Lovejoy tells us:

"For nine hours a day these little fellows toil in the breaker, bending over the coal chute, with their feet in the coal, picking out the rock and slate. We are often asked whether this air is bad for the health! A five minute visit to such a breaker will coat the lungs and throat with a black dust which twenty-four hours of pure air can not clear from the mucous linings....This 9 hour day is broken by the dinner 'hour' beginning in some breakers at 12:05 and ending at 12:25!.....of course all of us are anxious to have our own children work as these boys work, for are we not all 'self-made men?' But isn't the eating a little hard?....But let us follow Mr. Lovejoy. He says under oath:

"Allowing the boys 20 minutes to swallow the contents of their dinner pails with unwashed hands and dust-filled throats and lungs....to sit bent over a stream of coal that pours a cloud of dust so thick that the light cannot penetrate; to be responsible for the exact separation from the coal of all slate and rock, depending often entirely upon the sense of touch; to endure the incessant rattle of deafening, gigantic machinery; to suffer the stifling summer heat and the choice between the blasts that sweep these mountain tops and the cloud of smothering dust in the winter; to be conscious that the 'boss' stands behind with a stick or a small piece of coal to prompt to duty if the natural exuberance of childhood breaks out in playfulness or if backache induces a moment of forgetfulness; to have the hands cut and crippled and hardened by contact with the rough stones and bits of sharp edged coal; to learn to control the nausea caused by swallowing quantities of coal dust, and by the feeling that one's throat and lungs are never clean,.....

"That is the description of the work these boys are called upon to do in the breakers....Every time you find a 'clinker' in your grate or stove you may know that it represents the utter exhaustion of a boy from 8 years old to, perhaps, 14 years old.

"Twelve thousand little boys, ranging in age from 9 to 14 years, are believed to be working in the coal breakers of the anthracite field. This estimate was made a year ago after an investigation by the National Child Labor Committee. Another investigation just completed confirms the former estimate."

"The tissues of the boys' lungs gather the black specks until the whole lung is discolored, and I have seen boys who have been away from the breakers and mines for eight and even ten years cough up these particles whenever they were attacked by a slight cold.

"Experiment has shown that the work of the breaker boys can be done by machinery. Automatic slate pickers have been demonstrated to be practicable. **FLESH AND BLOOD ARE AT PRESENT DEEMED CHEAPER COMMODITIES THAN IRON AND STEEL,** and the state permits the boys to do the work at 14.....

"I deplore this business as much as you do," a silk-mill owner said to me one day, 'but I am part of a great industrial system, and so long as the system exists I must run my mills as other mills are run.'

"When I saw a small girl (in the silk mills of Pennsylvania) whose thin features and lusterless eyes attracted my attention, I asked her age. 'Eleven, past, sir,' she answered. 'How long have you worked in the mill?' 'Two years.' So she began at nine years and in a State where the law fixes the limit at 13.

"Do you always work night shift?' 'Yes, sir; all the time.' Now, let us see the conditions under which they are working. Of course they are not our children. They are the children of somebody else that are working **twelve hours a night.** If they were our children we should forget lunch and not sit up nights contriving arguments to show that the Constitution won't let us rescue them."

Child labor in the Mills.—A little girl 9 years old went through this:

"When I looked at other things there were threads running across them. Sometimes I felt as though the threads were cutting my eyes."

Bad as this aspect is, there is another, a sadder and more terrible feature. The close atmosphere of the factory rooms in the dead of night tends to stupefy the children. To freshen them and to drive the natural drowsiness away they are encouraged to spend their midnight half hour running in the open air.

Mark that humanity. The silk mills really give the children a half hour for luncheon at midnight. I hope American women will think of these things when they put on their silks. Mr. Durland goes on:

"The silk mills usually occupy isolated sites....Open fields and shadowy woods surround them."

And then occurs a statement which I prefer not to read, but which every Senator will quickly infer.....

.....We are not talking about something that is old. We are talking about a new and **increasing** evil.

(Mr. Beveridge next read extracts from an article by Miss Ashby, published in *World's Work*. It describes child labor in southern cotton mills.) Miss Ashby says: ".....Some of them run the machinery by night, and the little children are called on to endure the strain of all-night work...."

I would not read the following if I did not have another witness to this fact. "....And are sometimes kept awake by the vigilant superintendent with cold water dashed into their faces. I should hardly have believed it had I not seen these things myself." (Here follows an account of her visit to a home where lived a little fellow six years old who had worked nights for a year.) "In answer to a query by me, the child said he could hardly sleep at all in the day time. At one place I heard of children working on the night shift, turned out for some fault at 2 o'clock in the morning....Ladies told me, too, of a common sight in the mill cottages—children lying face downward on the bed sleeping with exhaustion, just as they had come in from the night shift, too utterly weary to remove their clothes.....Often the whole family, except the baby actually in the cradle, is in the mill. Two or three of eight years or older might be on the pay roll, but the youngest paid worker can get through her 'side' at 10 cents a day...."

At ten cents a day! A child six years of age, working 12 hours standing on her feet, at ten cents a day. "At ten cents a day—with more ease if she has her little brother of 4 to help her.

"I have seen a boy under four beginning his life of drudgery by pulling the yarn off bobbins to make bands.....I am familiar with the slums of two continents, but I can say I have never seen a more pitiful sight than the mill children, nor known little ones for whom the outlook was more hopeless.

"It is not only that they are pale, shrunken and bowed—they look as if their brains were hypnotized and their souls paralyzed. A friend of mine in Atlanta, thinking to give some of the little victims a treat, asked a number out to her place in the country and turned them into the woods to play. What was her distress and amazement to find that they did not know what the word or the thing meant."

Some Typical Cases.

Following are a few more statements, selected from scores of them just as horrible, which Mr. Beveridge quoted before the Senate. Remember, these quoted statements were all sworn to before a notary public. The figures are the page numbers of the volume named above.

1799. The estimate that there are today some 60,000 children 14 years of age or under that work in the cotton mills of the South.—Mr. Beveridge.

1800. The question of child labor is not confined to any one section of the country; it is national; and in the South it is native, one may say, owing to the absence as yet of all foreign elements in the population.—Mrs. Van Vorst.

And a manufacturer in my own town voiced the spirit that animates most men who take a position like the head of this mill took. He said: "We are a prolific race. If they die there will be plenty more."

1804. They can be seen coming out of the mills at night literally soaked to the skin with dyes of various colors. In the winter time, after a fall of snow, it is possible to track them to their homes, not only by their colored footprints, but by the drippings from their clothing.—Mr. Spargo.

So long as the girls can be kept working (in the cotton and woolen mills) and only a few of them faint, the mills are kept going; but when faintings are so many and so frequent that it does not pay to keep going, the mills are closed.

1805. Pneumonia carries off most of them. Their systems are ripe for disease, and when it comes there is no rebound, no response. Medicine simply does not act.—Elbert Hubbard.

The lowest estimate now is that we are pouring into American citizenship every year at least 200,000 "Hooligans," boys and girls who are broken in body and stunted in mind, and soul, and who know it, and who are living engines of hatred toward society, and who become the parents of still other degenerates.

Affidavit of A. J. McKelvey:

United States of America, District of Columbia.

Personally appeared before me this day A. J. McKelvey, who on oath says that in December, 1905, he was on board a train going from Knoxville, Tenn., to Spartanburg, S. C.; that he saw on board the train an immigration agent of an immigration association of South Carolina, who was in charge of a company of about 50 people bound for the cotton mills of South Carolina, whom the agent had induced to leave their homes in Tennessee; that the agent told him that he had made seven "shipments" of these people for the cotton mills from Newport, Tenn., averaging fifteen to the "shipment"; that seven more "shipments" had gone from Cleveland, Tenn., that there were several agents at work beside himself; and that he had shipped personally about 500 people to the cotton mills;—that he, A. J. McKelvey, talked with some of the children in the company; that Harrison Swan said he was going on ten years of age and was going to work, in the Four Mills, at Greenville, S. C., that the agent told him there were plenty of children 6 and 8 and 10 years of age in the South Carolina mills.

A. J. McKELVEY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22d day of January, 1907.

E. L. CORNELIUS,

Notary Public, District of Columbia.

1794 The boss (in the coal breakers) is armed with a stick, with which he occasionally raps on the head and shoulders of a boy who betrays lack of zeal. This is in America, you know.—Mr. Nichols.

Mill children are so stunted that every foreman, as you enter the mills, will tell you that you can not judge their ages. A horrible form of dropsy occurs among the children. A doctor in a city mill, who has made a special study of the subject, tells me that 10 per cent of the children who go to work before 12 years of age, after five years contract active consumption.

In one mill city in the South a doctor told a friend, that he had personally amputated more than a hundred babies' fingers mangled in the mill.

Child labor has increased beyond all proportion to labor of men and women, and while dividends average 35 per cent, and sometimes rise as high as 80 or 90 per cent the average wage is steadily dropping.

(c) DAMNING EVIDENCE OF CHILD SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH.

(From Vol. I of Senate Document No. 645, Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States.)

At a South Carolina mill a widow, whose child 11 years old was at work, said that after the agent's first visit to the mill the superintendent sent her child home and said he would have to take her name from the payroll. A few days later he asked the mother to make an affidavit that she was unable to support the child. She refused to do so, declaring that she was able to support the child. In a few days the child was sent for and was again regularly employed. Her age was reported by the company as 14 years.

At still another mill in the same state a woman said: "They just keep at a person until they have to let them work whether they want to or not. I don't want them to know that I've got another gal. They'd have her right in that mill, and I want her to help me." A boy of 10 years was already working, and the girl referred to was 9.

At a mill in North Carolina a woman said that the superintendent sent for both her boys and required her to take them out of school. She refused for a time, but yielded because she feared that her husband would lose his job. The boys were 11 and 14 years old.

At another mill in North Carolina the mill company threatened to evict a widow from a company house because her child, 11 years old, too often remained at home sick instead of working.

In a mill in South Carolina, although there were 17 employes under 12 years of age, none were so reported. The agent who investigated the mill wrote: "Nobody not of unusual gullibility can believe that the overseers in all these cases need have been deceived. Several children were scarcely 9 years of age and so young in appearance that no person of ordinary experience should be deceived as to their ages."

(d) STREET TRADES.

Newsboys in Chicago.

(From the Report of a Committee appointed by the Federation of Chicago Settlements which investigated 1,000 newsboys.)

Page 17. Mr. Sloan, the former superintendent of the John Worthy School, authorizes the statement that "one-third of the newsboys who come to the John Worthy School have venereal disease and that ten per cent of the remaining newsboys at present in the Bridewell are, according to the physician's diagnosis, suffering from diseases due to unnatural relations with men."

Mr. Sloan also states that "the newsboy who comes to the John Worthy School is, on the average, one-third below the ordinary boy in development physically."

PARENTS OF NEWSBOYS.

| | | Per cent |
|-------------------|-------|----------|
| Both living | 803 | 80.2 |
| Father dead | 97 | 9.7 |
| Mother dead | 74 | 7.4 |
| Both dead | 26 | 2.6 |
| Total | 1,000 | |

AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS.

| | |
|------------------------|----------|
| Number of boys | 1,000 |
| Total earnings | \$496.57 |
| Average earnings | .50 |

The Night Messenger.

(From an Article by Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary National Child Labor Association, in the Review of Review of Reviews, November, 1910.)

A substantial percentage of this work is in catering to the desires of the most vicious elements in our cities. An investigation was conducted in some thirty cities of nine states during the past winter, which substantiated the earlier reports of extreme demoralization of night messenger boys.

* * * One Industrial School in New York State shows that of 378 inmates examined 59 had been at one time night messengers; in a similar institution in Ohio, of 1,125 boys 138 had been night messengers, and many had records of social offenses dark enough for barbarism.

(e) CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION.

| | Number of states. | | | |
|--|-------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| | North. | South. | West. | Total. |
| Child Labor Law first passed..... | 1 | 3 | 1 | 5 |
| Compulsory Education Law first passed | 1 | 3 | 3 | 7 |
| 14-year age limit in factories and stores | 7 | 3 | 7 | 17 |
| 14-year age limit in mines..... | 3 | 1 | 4 | 8 |
| Eight-hour day | 4 | .. | 7 | 11 |
| Other reduction of hours..... | 7 | 4 | 2 | 13 |
| Prohibition of night work under 16 years | 8 | 3 | 7 | 18 |
| Proof of age required..... | 9 | 1 | 7 | 17 |
| Certificate of physical fitness to work required | 10 | .. | 3 | 13 |
| Enforcing agency established..... | 2 | 7 | 4 | 13 |

CHILD LABOR ALLOWED.

| | Number of States. | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------|-------|--------|
| | North. | South. | West. | Total. |
| Children under 14 years may work in factories, etc. | 4 | 7 | 2 | 13 |
| Children under 16 years may work at night | 11 | 8 | 14 | 33 |
| Children under 16 years may work more than eight hours a day..... | 16 | 9 | 10 | 35 |
| Children under 16 years may work in dangerous occupations | 9 | 9 | 17 | 25 |
| Boys under 16 may work in mines..... | 9 | 7 | 9 | 25 |
| Proof of age is not required in..... | 6 | 10 | 7 | 23 |
| No adequate system factory inspection | 2 | 4 | 4 | 10 |
| Boys under 16 may work as night messengers | 19 | 12 | 13 | 44 |

All states with important canning industries employ children without restriction; the chief cities in which clothing, artificial flowers and other articles are made in tenements are without laws to protect little children; and, with the exception of Bos-

ton, Cincinnati and Milwaukee, none of the large cities have more than made a beginning in the regulation of street trades.

10. Women Workers.

(a) WOMEN WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES BY OCCUPATION.

(Compiled from United States Census of 1900.)

| Occupation. | |
|---|------------------|
| All occupations | 5,310,912 |
| Agricultural pursuits | 977,336 |
| Agricultural laborers | 633,209 |
| Dairy women | 892 |
| Farmers, planters and overseers | 307,706 |
| Gardeners, florists, etc. | 2,860 |
| Stockraisers, herders and drovers | 1,932 |
| Turpentine farmers and laborers | 281 |
| Wood-choppers | 113 |
| Other agricultural pursuits | 243 |
| Service | 430,576 |
| Actors, etc. | 6,857 |
| Architects, designers, etc. | 1,041 |
| Artists and teachers of art | 11,021 |
| Clergy | 3,373 |
| Dentists | 786 |
| Electricians | 409 |
| Engineers (civil, etc.) and surveyors | 84 |
| Journalists | 2,193 |
| Lawyers | 1,010 |
| Literary and scientific persons | 5,984 |
| Musicians and teachers of music | 52,359 |
| Officials (government) | 8,119 |
| Physicians and surgeons | 7,387 |
| Teachers and professors in colleges, etc. | 327,614 |
| Other professional service | 2,339 |
| Domestic and personal services | 2,095,449 |
| Barbers and hairdressers | 5,574 |
| Bartenders | 440 |
| Boarding and lodging house keepers | 59,455 |
| Hotel keepers | 8,533 |
| Housekeepers and stewards | 146,929 |
| Janitors and sextons | 8,038 |
| Laborers (not specified) | 123,975 |
| Laundresses | 335,282 |
| Nurses and midwives | 108,691 |
| Restaurant keepers | 4,845 |
| Saloon keepers | 2,086 |
| Servants and waiters | 1,283,763 |
| Watchmen, policemen, firemen, etc. | 879 |
| Other domestic and personal service | 6,964 |
| Trade and transportation | 503,347 |
| Agents | 10,556 |
| Bankers and brokers | 293 |
| Boatmen and sailors | 153 |
| Bookkeepers and accountants | 74,153 |
| Clerks and copyists | 85,246 |
| Commercial travelers | 946 |
| Dairymen, hackmen, teamsters, etc. | 904 |
| Overseers | 1,418 |
| Hostlers | 79 |
| Hucksters and peddlers | 2,951 |
| Livery stable keepers | 190 |
| Merchants and dealers (except wholesale) | 34,084 |
| Merchants and dealers (wholesale) | 261 |
| Messengers, etc. | 6,663 |
| Officials of bank companies | 1,271 |
| Packers and shippers | 19,988 |
| Porters and helpers (in stores, etc.) | 566 |
| Saleswomen | 149,230 |
| Steam railroad employes | 1,688 |
| Stenographers and typewriters | 86,118 |
| Street railway employes | 46 |
| Telegraph and telephone operators | 22,556 |
| Undertakers | 328 |
| Other persons in trade and transportation | 3,700 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits | 1,313,204 |
| Building Trades— | |
| Carpenters and joiners | 545 |
| Masons (brick and stone) | 167 |
| Painters, glaziers and varnishers | 1,759 |
| Paper hangers | 545 |
| Plasterers | 241 |
| Plumbers and gas and steam fitters | 126 |
| Roofers and slaters | 2 |
| Mechanics (not otherwise specified) | 41 |
| Chemical and Allied Products— | |
| Oil well and oil works employes | 53 |
| Other chemical workers | 2,799 |
| Clay, Glass and Stone Products— | |
| Brick and tile makers, etc. | 478 |
| Glass workers | 26,621 |

| | |
|--|---------|
| Marble and stone cutters | 143 |
| Potters | 2,940 |
| Fishing and Mining— | |
| Fishermen and oystermen..... | 462 |
| Miners and quarrymen | 1,365 |
| Food and Kindred Products— | |
| Bakers | 4,328 |
| Butchers | 378 |
| Confectioners | 9,214 |
| Millers | 186 |
| Other food preparers | 5,142 |
| Iron and Steel and Their Products— | |
| Blacksmiths | 193 |
| Iron and steel workers | 3,370 |
| Machinists | 571 |
| Steam boilermakers | 8 |
| Stove, furnace and grate makers..... | 43 |
| Tool and cutlery makers..... | 746 |
| Wheelwrights | 10 |
| Wire workers | 1,786 |
| Leather and Its Finished Products— | |
| Boot and shoemakers and repairers..... | 29,519 |
| Harness and saddle makers and repairers..... | 595 |
| Leather curriers and tanners..... | 1,754 |
| Trunk and leather case makers, etc..... | 1,579 |
| Liquors and Beverages— | |
| Bottlers and soda water makers, etc..... | 794 |
| Brewers and maltsters | 275 |
| Distillers and rectifiers | 30 |
| Lumber and Its Manufactures— | |
| Cabinet makers | 67 |
| Coopers | 113 |
| Saw and planing mill employes..... | 373 |
| Other woodworkers | 6,805 |
| Metal and Metal Products Other Than Iron and Steel— | |
| Brass workers | 890 |
| Clock and watch makers and repairers..... | 4,851 |
| Gold and silver workers | 6,380 |
| Tinplate and tinware makers..... | 1,775 |
| Other metal workers | 2,320 |
| Paper and Printing— | |
| Bookbinders | 15,632 |
| Box makers (paper) | 17,302 |
| Engravers | 453 |
| Paper and pulp mill operatives..... | 9,424 |
| Printers, lithographers and pressmen..... | 15,981 |
| Textile— | |
| Bleachery and dye works operatives..... | 1,785 |
| Carpet factory operatives | 9,017 |
| Cotton mill operatives | 120,216 |
| Hosiery and knitting mill operatives..... | 34,490 |
| Silk mill operatives..... | 32,437 |
| Woolen mill operatives..... | 30,630 |
| Other textile mill operatives..... | 51,182 |
| Dressmakers | 344,794 |
| Hat and cap makers | 7,623 |
| Milliners | 86,120 |
| Seamstresses | 146,105 |
| Shirt, collar and cuff makers..... | 30,941 |
| Tailoresses | 68,935 |
| Textile workers | 21,042 |
| Miscellaneous Industries— | |
| Broom and brush makers..... | 1,577 |
| Charcoal, coke and lime burners..... | 43 |
| Locomotives (not locomotive)..... | 177 |
| Manufacturers and officials, etc..... | 7,763 |
| Model and pattern makers..... | 3,433 |
| Photographers | 204 |
| Rubber factory operatives | 3,530 |
| Tobacco and cigar factory operatives..... | 7,347 |
| Upholsterers | 43,497 |
| Other miscellaneous industries | 2,153 |
| | 90,810 |

Synopsis.

Women at work, 1900, including 485,765 girls under 16 years old:

| | |
|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Agricultural pursuits | 977,336 |
| Professional service | 430,597 |
| Domestic and personal service..... | 2,095,449 |
| Trade and transportation | 503,247 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical..... | 1,312,668 |

Total 5,319,897

Note—The Census Bulletin on occupations for 1910 has not yet been published.

(b) WOMEN DISPLACE MEN.

That the labor of women replaces that of men in clerical occupations as well as in factory work is made clear by Miss Helen L. Sumner, the author of Volume IX of the Federal Report on Women and Child Wage Earners.

In 1870 there were reported to be employed in this group of occupations, including "stenographers and typewriters," "clerks and copyists," and "bookkeepers and accountants," only 9,982 women. In 1880 the number increased to 28,698, in 1890 to 168,808, and in 1900 to 238,892. Meanwhile the proportion which women formed of the total number of persons engaged in these occupations rose from 3.3 per cent in 1870 to 5.7 per cent in 1880 and to 16.9 per cent in 1890. In 1900, 75.7 per cent of the stenographers and typewriters, 12.9 per cent of the clerks and copyists and 28.6 per cent of the bookkeepers and accountants were women.

(c) CAUSES THAT LED TO WOMAN'S POSITION IN INDUSTRY.

(From Senate Document No. 645, Vol. IX, pages 15-16.)

Machinery, combined with division of labor and the substitution of water, steam and electric power for human muscles, has certainly made it possible to employ the unskilled labor of women in occupations formerly carried on wholly by men.

Division of labor, indeed, which has always accompanied and frequently preceded machinery, is probably even more responsible than the latter for the introduction of women into new occupations. The most striking single tendency in manufacturing industries has been toward the division and the subdivision of processes, thereby making possible the use of woman's work, as well as the unskilled man's work, in larger proportion to that of skilled operatives. A more recent tendency toward the combination of several machines into one has even been checked, in some cases, because a competent machinist would have to be hired. Unless the advantage of the complicated mechanism is very great, in many industries simpler machinery, which can be easily run by women, is preferred.

The Civil War was another force which not only drove into gainful occupations a large number of women, but compelled many changes in their employments. In 1869 it was estimated that there were 25,000 working women in Boston who had been forced by the war to earn their living.

Similar to war in its influence, and in some ways more direful, has been the influence of industrial depressions.

Industrial depressions, too, like war, have taken away from thousands of women the support of the men upon whom they were dependent and have forced them to snatch at any occupation which promised them a pittance.

(d) WOMEN'S WAGES.

Starvation Wages of Girls and Women in Massachusetts.
(Pearson's Magazine, August, 1912, page 11.)

On the 11th of May, 1911, the commonwealth of Massachusetts authorized its governor to "appoint a commission of five persons, citizens of the commonwealth, of whom at least one shall be a woman, one shall be a representative of labor and one shall be a representative of employers, to study the matter of wages of women and minors and to report on the advisability of establishing a board or boards to which shall be referred inquiries as to the need and feasibility of fixing minimum rates of wages for women or minors in any industry." The commission presented its report in January of this year.

The Massachusetts census of 1905 gave the number of females gainfully employed in that state. Many of these were in the cotton textile industry. Notably covered in the federal investigation, and the results of the commission made use of these figures and ad-

own investigation of three others: Retail stores, candy factories and laundries. "Thus altogether, information, more or less detailed but all of a thoroughly reliable character, being based upon payrolls and first hand inquiries by trained investigators, was gathered covering 15,278 female wage earners engaged in four different occupations in the commonwealth."

They found that 41 per cent of the candy workers, 10.2 per cent of the saleswomen, 16.1 per cent of the laundry workers and 23 per cent of the cotton workers **earn less than \$5 a week**; and that 65.2 per cent of the candy workers, 29.5 per cent of the saleswomen, 40.7 per cent of the laundry workers and 39.9 per cent of the cotton workers **earn less than \$6 a week**.

The government figures show that more than one-fifth of these girls and women are completely self-dependent, and in many cases the partial or whole support of others (on an average wage of \$7.33, which high average more than a fourth of them do not come within \$1.33 of touching); and of those who live at home, more than four-fifths contribute their entire earnings to the family fund. * * *

The same authorities (30 prominent social workers in conference on "what it would cost a woman of average ability, initiative and intelligence when living at home, and also when living away from home, to secure the necessary comforts of life") estimated the fair personal expenses of such a worker to be:

| | |
|--|--------|
| Carfares | \$0.52 |
| Clothes | 1.92 |
| Dentistry, doctor's fees, medicine, oculist..... | .52 |
| Recreation and vacation | .54 |
| Education (papers, magazines)..... | .07 |
| Church | .10 |
| Total | \$3.67 |

For the girl or woman not living at home the following estimate was made:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| Rent and carfare | \$ 3.00 |
| Food | 4.00 |
| Laundry | .55 |
| Clothes | 1.92 |
| Dentistry, etc. | .42 |
| Recreation and vacation | .54 |
| Church | .10 |
| Education (newspapers) | .07 |
| Total | \$10.60 |

Wages in Massachusetts.

(Report of the Commission on Minimum Wage Boards, January, 1912, House No. 1697.)

Page 286. Average yearly earnings of women in retail stores, \$313.26; average weekly wages, \$6.02.

Page 288. Of 2,276 reporting, 1,404, or 61.8 per cent, contributed all their earnings to the family fund; 796, or 34.9 per cent, contributed part; and 76, or 3.3 per cent, contributed none.

Page 315. Of 1,219 laundry workers investigated, 49 got less than \$4 a week.

256 received less than \$5 a week.
 558 received less than 6 a week.
 772 received less than 7 a week.
 949 received less than 8 a week.
 Only 270 received \$8 or more

Page 256. The average weekly earnings for girls in candy factories was \$4.93. The 1,694 reporting averaged 11 cents per hour. (Page 257.)

Page 250. Twenty per cent of all women workers over 21 years old received less than \$6 a week in miscellaneous industries.

Page 233. "As a result of painstaking study of actual expenditures of 391 families, it was concluded that for a family of five persons 'the task of making both ends meet is too severe to be successfully accomplished in ordinary circumstances on all incomes under \$800, without a lowering of the standards of living below the normal demands of health, working efficiency and social decency.' "

Page 229. Three out of four families with incomes under \$600 were underfed, and of those with incomes between \$600 and \$800, out of three were underfed.

Women Workers in Other Countries.

| | Year. | No. women workers. | Per cent of all females. |
|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Austria | 1900 | 5,850,158 | 44 |
| Belgium | 1900 | 948,229 | 28.1 |
| Denmark | 1901 | 353,980 | 28.2 |
| France | 1896 | 6,382,658 | 33 |
| Germany | 1895 | 6,578,350 | 25 |
| Holland | 1899 | 433,548 | 16.8 |
| Hungary | 1900 | 2,668,697 | 27.6 |
| Italy | 1901 | 5,284,064 | 32.4 |
| Norway | 1900 | 277,613 | 24 |
| Russia | 1897 | 5,276,112 | 8.4 |
| Sweden | 1900 | 551,021 | 21 |
| Switzerland | 1888 | 435,190 | 29 |
| United Kingdom | 1901 | 5,313,249 | 24.9 |

—Josiah Strong, The Gospel of the Kingdom, November, 1908.

Comment: These figures are ten years old and are largely increased through increased introduction of machinery.

11. Organized Labor.

(a) EXTENT AND NUMBERS.

In the United States and Canada.

(Social Democratic Manual, 1912.)

| | |
|--|------------------|
| A. F. of L., 1910..... | 1,562,112 |
| W. F. of Miners, 1911..... | 49,963 |
| Independent Railroad Unions, 1911..... | 289,186 |
| Other Independent Unions, 1911..... | 723,739 |
| Total | 2,625,000 |

In Foreign Countries.

| Country | Date | Members |
|--------------------------------|------|-----------|
| Germany | 1910 | 2,688,144 |
| France | 1910 | 977,350 |
| Great Britain and Ireland..... | 1911 | 2,426,592 |
| Austria | 1910 | 400,565 |
| Italy | 1910 | 167,256 |
| Sweden | 1910 | 148,649 |
| Netherlands | 1910 | 143,850 |
| Belgium | 1909 | 138,928 |
| Denmark | 1910 | 131,563 |
| Switzerland | 1909 | 110,749 |
| Other European countries..... | | 230,309 |
| Summary | | |

Summary.

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Total in Foreign Countries..... | 7,563,955 |
| Total in United States and Canada..... | 2,625,000 |
| Grand total | 10,188,955 |

(b) GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN THE TRADES UNION MOVEMENT.

The growth of Socialist sentiment in the organized labor movement of America is widespread and rapid. Moreover, it seems to be increasing in the rate of its growth.

The Western Federation of Miners, one of the strongest and most aggressive labor organizations in America, has stood for years committed to political Socialism. The organizations of brewers, hat and cap makers, bakers and a few others have also definitely endorsed Socialism.

The United Mine Workers of America, numbering nearly 300,000, have also practically endorsed Socialism in the resolution in which they declare for the collective ownership of industry.

Besides this the Socialist party, of course, has numerous individual adherents in every union. Their number is growing.

Thus it will be seen that trades unions, representing more than a half million organized workers, are more or less definitely committed to political Socialism already.

The Socialist sentiment is growing rapidly as indicated not only by the above, but by other occurrences in the union movement, for example: The United Mines Workers' Union, besides having endorsed Socialism, has elected as vice-president a party Socialist. Its present as well as its former president votes the Socialist ticket.

The Cigar Makers' Union, the one to which Mr. Samuel Gompers, a most persistent opponent of Socialism, belongs, has elected a number of Socialists to official positions. Mr. James

O'Connell, for many years president of the Machinists' Union and one of Mr. Gompers' most valued lieutenants, was defeated by a Socialist, Mr. W. H. Johnson.

Socialism and Trade Unionism.

(From "Socialism in Theory and Practice," by Morris Hillquit, page 236. The Macmillan Company.)

Trade unionism and socialism have a common origin, and are both the products and expression of an advanced stage of the class struggle between capitalism and labor.

In England, France, Italy, Australia and the United States the modern trade union movement preceded the Socialist movement; in Germany, Austria and Russia the trade unions are largely the creation of Socialists, while in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium and Holland both movements developed almost simultaneously. In the Anglo-Saxon countries the trade unions have developed a greater numerical strength than the Socialist parties, while in the countries of continental Europe the reverse is true.

* * *

(Same, page 237.)

Stating the proposition in general and broad terms, the trade unions fight the special and economic battles of the working-men, while the Socialist party represents the general interest of the wage earners in the field of politics. But on closer examination the distinction is by no means as clear and definite as it seems at first sight."

* * *

(Same, page 239.)

The trade unions of continental Europe fully recognize this political phase of their movement, and they frankly ally themselves with the Socialist parties of their countries in all political campaigns. In England the trade organizations stubbornly maintain the attitude of non-interference in politics until such time as they found their very existence menaced by the legislative and judicial powers of the realm. Then they constituted themselves into a political Labor party which declared for independent working-class politics and adopted a radical program of political labor reforms.

The only large body of trade unions which, at least to some extent, still upholds the fiction of political indifference, is that represented by the American Federation of Labor, and that fiction is becoming so incongruous as to involve the organization in the most ludicrous contradictions.

But even that is rapidly changing. * * *

In the United States, Socialism is making its way among the trade unionists slowly but steadily.

(c) WOMEN'S TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS.

(From Senate Document No. 645, Vol. X, page 11.)

Organization among working women, contrary to the general impression, is not new. Women, from the beginning of the trades union movement in this country, have occupied an important place in the ranks of organized labor. For eighty years and over women wage earners in America have formed trade unions and gone on strike for shorter hours, better pay and improved conditions. The American labor movement had its real beginning about the year 1825. In that same year the tailoresses of New York formed a union.

It is, of course, impossible to state definitely that organization among working women began in any particular year, but certainly it is true that women wage earners attracted little attention on account of organized activity before the year 1825.

Beginning about that time women have gradually found places for themselves in industrial life. The increased intro-

duction of women into industry has resulted in problems more or less peculiar to women wage earners, and since 1825 they have formed special organizations in an effort to meet their own needs. From that time to the present unionism among women has steadily increased in importance.

The first women to enter factory employment were native Americans, and since the greater part of machine labor was then found in cotton mills the women unionists of the first period were largely New England girls, generally the daughters of farmers. One of the first important strikes among cotton mill girls occurred at Dover, N. H., in 1828, and involved between 300 and 400 women. Six years later 800 women were on a strike at the same place, and by means of a trade union resisted for some time a reduction of wages. The Dover difficulties furnished examples of most of the trade union problems and tactics familiar to labor unionists today. Against reduction of wages, monthly payments and exasperating rules the Dover girls furnished organized resistance and gave expression to their complaints by means of street parades, protest meetings, placards, poetry and widely published resolutions. They appointed committees to secure the support of workers in other towns and raised funds to relieve the necessities of the strikers. When employers advertised for workers to take the place of the strikers the women strikers answered in turn through the columns of the newspapers.

Number and Extent of Women's Labor Organizations.

(Senate Document No. 645, Vol. X, page 136.)

| | No. of | Female | Per ct. of |
|-------------------------------|------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| | unions. | m'b'ship. | women to total m'b'ship. |
| Bookbinders | 25 | 3,628 | 40 |
| Boot and shoe workers..... | 40 | 5,443 | 17 |
| Cigar makers | 32 | 3,490 | 10 |
| Garment makers (men's)..... | 133 | 17,212 | 40 |
| Garment makers (women's)..... | 13 | 1,217 | 70 |
| Glove makers | 13 | 652 | 58 |
| Hat and cap makers..... | 14 | 5,385 | 54 |
| Musicians | 60 | 1,323 | 7 |
| Printers | 17 | 621 | 3 |
| Saleswomen | 42 | 1,308 | 4 |
| Laundry workers | 41 | 3,229 | 75 |
| Textile workers | 33 | 6,142 | 45 |
| Tobacco workers | 33 | 5,020 | 72 |
| Waitresses | 22 | 1,928 | 5 |
| Miscellaneous | 28 | 7,391 | .. |
| Total | 546 | 63,989 | 3 |

Improvement Secured by Women's Organizations—Hours.
(From Senate Document No. 645, Vol. X, page 213.)

| | Number of unions invest'g'd. | | No reduc- tion of hours. | | Reduction of less than 1 hr. per 6 day. | | Reduction of 1 hour per day. | | Reduction of more than 1 hour day. | | reduction, but not hours of reduction. | | Not reported. | |
|--|---------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|---------|---|---------|---------------------------------|---------|--|---------|--|---------|------------------|---------|
| | No. | Per ct. | No. | Per ct. | No. | Per ct. | No. | Per ct. | No. | Per ct. | No. | Per ct. | No. | Per ct. |
| Bookbinders | 17 | 11.8 | 2 | 11.8 | 9 | 25 | 9 | 52.9 | 4 | 23.5 | 1 | 5.9 | 1 | 5.9 |
| Boot and shoe workers | 12 | 33.3 | 9 | 25 | 9 | 25 | 9 | 25 | 2 | 5.6 | 2 | 11.1 | 4 | 11.1 |
| Cigar makers | 36 | 11.1 | 6 | 7.2 | 24 | 28.9 | 24 | 28.9 | 14 | 77.8 | 2 | 11.1 | 20 | 11.1 |
| Garment workers (men's) | 18 | 15.7 | 1 | 11.1 | 1 | 11.1 | 1 | 11.1 | 16 | 18.3 | 4 | 4.8 | 4 | 4.8 |
| Garment workers (women's) | 83 | 11.1 | 2 | 28.6 | 1 | 14.2 | 1 | 14.2 | 1 | 11.1 | 1 | 11.1 | 2 | 11.1 |
| Glove workers | 9 | 28.6 | 2 | 45.5 | 1 | 5.9 | 1 | 5.9 | 1 | 9.1 | 1 | 9.1 | 2 | 9.1 |
| Hat trimmers | 7 | 45.5 | 3 | 17.6 | 1 | 5.9 | 1 | 5.9 | 1 | 58.8 | 1 | 58.8 | 5 | 58.8 |
| Hat trimmers and laundry workers | 11 | 17.6 | 2 | 6.9 | 4 | 19 | 4 | 19 | 10 | 3.4 | 1 | 3.4 | 3 | 3.4 |
| Shirt, waist and laundry workers | 17 | 27.6 | 2 | 14.3 | 7 | 50 | 7 | 50 | 1 | 28.6 | 1 | 28.6 | 18 | 28.6 |
| Textile workers | 29 | 19 | 3 | 14.3 | 2 | 9.1 | 2 | 9.1 | 6 | 42.9 | 1 | 42.9 | 3 | 42.9 |
| Tobacco workers | 21 | 19 | 3 | 14.3 | 7 | 50 | 7 | 50 | 6 | 55.6 | 1 | 55.6 | 1 | 55.6 |
| Typographical workers | 14 | 19 | 3 | 14.3 | 2 | 9.1 | 2 | 9.1 | 5 | 22.7 | 1 | 22.7 | 7 | 22.7 |
| Waitresses | 9 | 31.8 | 2 | 8.9 | 2 | 8.9 | 2 | 8.9 | 5 | 22.7 | 1 | 22.7 | 1 | 22.7 |
| Miscellaneous | 22 | 31.8 | 2 | 8.9 | 2 | 8.9 | 2 | 8.9 | 5 | 22.7 | 1 | 22.7 | 1 | 22.7 |
| Total | 293 | 18.0 | 26 | 8.9 | 58 | 19.8 | 58 | 19.8 | 71 | 24.2 | 11 | 3.8 | 71 | 3.8 |

Total 293
*Per cent of unions organized in each trade prior to January 1, 1908.

Improvement Secured by Women's Organizations—Wages.
(From Senate Document No. 645, Vol X, page 211.)

| | Number of unions invest'g'd. | No. in wages. | Per ct. | Increase of less than 10 per cent. | No. | Per ct. | Increase of 10 per cent. | No. | Per ct. | Increase of over 10 per cent. | No. | Per ct. | Increase, but not per cent of increase. | No. | Per ct. | Not reported. |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------|---------|--|-----|---------|-----------------------------|-----|---------|-------------------------------------|------|---------|---|-----|---------|------------------|
| Bookbinders | 17 | 1 | 5.9 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 8 | 47.1 | 4 | 23.5 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Boot and shoe workers | 36 | 10 | 27.8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | 16.7 | 14 | 38.9 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Cigar makers | 18 | 8 | 44.5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | 33.4 | 2 | 11.1 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Garment workers (men's) | 83 | 6 | 7.2 | 3 | 3.6 | .. | .. | 22 | 26.5 | 22 | 26.5 | 21 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Garment workers (women's) | 9 | 1 | 11.1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 4 | 44.4 | .. | .. | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Glove workers | 7 | 2 | 28.6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 1 | 14.3 | 1 | 42.8 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Hat trimmers | 11 | 2 | 18.2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 5 | 45.4 | 3 | 27.2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Musicians | 58 | 2 | 3.5 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 12 | 20.7 | 22 | 37.9 | 22 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Retail clerks | 41 | 6 | 14.6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 2 | 4.9 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Shirt, waist and laundry workers | 17 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 11 | 64.7 | 2 | 11.7 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Textile workers | 29 | 7 | 24.1 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 3 | 10.4 | 5 | 17.2 | 13 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Tobacco workers | 21 | 5 | 23.8 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 6 | 28.6 | 6 | 19 | 4 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Typographical workers | 14 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 10 | 71.4 | 3 | 21.4 | 1 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Waitresses | 9 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. | 7 | 77.8 | 2 | 22.2 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Miscellaneous | 22 | 3 | 13.6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | 11 | 50 | 1 | 4.6 | .. | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| Total | 392 | 53 | 13.5 | 3 | .. | .. | .. | 114 | 29 | 89 | 22.7 | 117 | .. | .. | .. | .. |
| *Per cent of unions organized in each trade prior to January 1, 1908. | | | | | | | | 16 | 4.1 | | | | | | | |

Among those engaged in the promotion of unionism among women there is a general belief that in those organizations which have survived the recent period of depression the women members take more interest in their unions than ever before. Their interest is not yet by any means general and keen, but there seems a growing consciousness on the part of women that action.

they need the advantages which can be secured only by united * * * Through this increased interest in the management of her own union the woman grows to a wider point of view and an interest in questions affecting her fellow unionists and the workers as a body.

(From Senate Document No. 645, Vol. X, page 217.)

(d) STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

Following is taken from the United States Census Report of 1906, same being the last published. The bulletins subsequently published do not mention anything further:

Average duration of strikes per establishment was 25.4 days, and of lockouts 84.6 days.

The strikes or lockouts do not, of course, always result in the closing of the establishments affected, but in strikes, the average closing was 20.1 days, and in lockouts 40.4 days.

Strikes of less than one day are omitted and of the strikers the average number of women is about 10 per cent.

Duration of strikes or lockouts should not be considered a measure of time lost by employes, because a few, and possibly all, employes may secure work elsewhere during the disturbance or a temporary closing of an establishment, but a strike or lockout may mean a prolongation of the working season or more regular work during the remainder of the year, and thus as many days may be worked within the year as though no strike or lockout had occurred.

Statistics of Strikes and Lockouts from 1894 to 1905 Inclusive.

| Year. | Strikes. | Establishments. | Days Until Strikers Were Re-Employed | | No. of Strikers. | Employees Thrown Out of Strike. |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------|---|-----------------------------------|------------------|--|
| | | | Closed. | or Places Filled by Others. | | |
| 1894..... | 1,349 | 8,196 | 211,017 | 265,457 | 505,049 | 660,425 |
| 1895..... | 1,215 | 6,973 | 100,893 | 142,851 | 285,742 | 392,403 |
| 1896..... | 1,026 | 5,462 | 94,351 | 119,870 | 182,813 | 241,170 |
| 1897..... | 1,078 | 8,492 | 175,071 | 232,443 | 332,570 | 408,391 |
| 1898..... | 1,056 | 3,809 | 53,833 | 85,269 | 182,067 | 249,002 |
| 1899..... | 1,797 | 11,317 | 67,018 | 171,655 | 308,267 | 417,072 |
| 1900..... | 1,779 | 9,248 | 77,895 | 213,038 | 399,656 | 505,066 |
| 1901..... | 2,924 | 10,908 | 90,688 | 317,939 | 396,280 | 543,386 |
| 1902..... | 3,162 | 14,248 | 183,032 | 362,398 | 553,143 | 659,792 |
| 1903..... | 3,494 | 20,248 | 239,885 | 588,831 | 531,682 | 656,055 |
| 1904..... | 2,307 | 10,202 | 123,319 | 341,898 | 375,754 | 517,211 |
| 1905..... | 2,077 | 8,292 | 53,758 | 191,880 | 176,337 | 221,686 |
| Year. | Lockouts. | Establishments. | Days Until Strikers Were Re-Employed | | No. of Strikers. | Employees Thrown Out of Strike. |
| | | | Closed. | or Places Filled by Others. | | |
| 1894..... | | | 875 | 28,548 | | 29,619 |
| 1895..... | | | 370 | 12,754 | | 14,785 |
| 1896..... | | | 51 | 3,675 | | 7,668 |
| 1897..... | | | 171 | 7,651 | | 7,763 |
| 1898..... | | | 164 | 11,038 | | 14,217 |
| 1899..... | | | 323 | 14,698 | | 14,817 |
| 1900..... | | | 2,281 | 46,562 | | 62,653 |
| 1901..... | | | 451 | 16,257 | | 20,457 |
| 1902..... | | | 1,304 | 30,304 | | 31,715 |
| 1903..... | | | 3,288 | 112,332 | | 131,779 |
| 1904..... | | | 2,316 | 44,908 | | 56,604 |
| 1905..... | | | 1,255 | 68,474 | | 80,748 |

Summary of Strikes, 1881 to 1905, by Causes. (Statistical Abstract of United States for 1910, page 247.)

| Cause or object. | Strikes. | | Number of establishments in which strikes— | | Per cent of establishments in which strikes— | |
|---|-----------|--------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------|
| | Number. | Per cent of total. | Succeeded. | Partly Succeeded. | Failed. | Partly Failed. |
| For increase of wages..... | 11,851 | 32.24 | 30,142 | 11,277 | 18,922 | 18,69 |
| For increase of wages combined with various causes..... | 3,117 | 8.48 | 20,947 | 11,251 | 12,491 | 25.18 |
| Against reduction of wages..... | 4,067 | 11.06 | 3,669 | 1,337 | 5,492 | 34.95 |
| For reduction of hours..... | 1,797 | 4.89 | 8,775 | 1,745 | 6,790 | 25.18 |
| Against increase of hours..... | 199 | .54 | 409 | 105 | 303 | 12.74 |
| Concerning recognition of union and union rules..... | 6,926 | 18.84 | 10,307 | 305 | 7,966 | 10.08 |
| Concerning employment of certain persons..... | 2,693 | 7.33 | 1,027 | 68 | 3,044 | 12.85 |
| Concerning overtime work and pay..... | 238 | .65 | 291 | 43 | 240 | 1.64 |
| Concerning method and time of payment..... | 342 | .93 | 377 | 31 | 545 | 73.55 |
| Concerning docking, fines and charges..... | 308 | .84 | 218 | 38 | 193 | 41.81 |
| Concerning working conditions..... | 922 | 2.51 | 1,286 | 123 | 1,680 | 57.19 |
| Sympathetic..... | 1,346 | 3.66 | 1,315 | 177 | 4,866 | 42.99 |
| Total number of strikes, 1881-1905..... | 36,757 | | | | | 48.55 |
| Total number establishments involved..... | 181,407 | | | | | 20.68 |
| Total number of strikers..... | 6,728,048 | | | | | |
| Average per strike..... | 183 | | | | | |
| Number of employees thrown out of work..... | 8,703,824 | | | | | |
| | | | Average per strike..... | | 237 | |
| | | | Per cent of strikes ordered by labor organization..... | | 68.99 | |
| | | | Number of strikes ordered by labor organization..... | | 25,358 | |
| | | | Number not ordered by labor organization..... | | 11,394 | |

(c) LABOR DECISIONS AND INJUNCTIONS.

(From the Appeal's "Arsenal of Facts," 1914.)

"Refusing to haul cars a conspiracy."—T., A. & N. M. Ry. vs. Pennsylvania Co., 54 Fed. Rep. 730, April 3, 1893. Taft, circuit judge.

"Quitting work is criminal."—Same, April 3, 1893. Taft, circuit judge.

"A workman considered 'under control'."—T., A. & N. M. Ry. vs. Pennsylvania Co. et al., 54 Fed. Rep. 746, March 25, 1893. Ricks, circuit judge.

"Serving of injunction notice unnecessary."—In re Lennon, 166 U. S. 548. Brown, judge.

"The blicklist lawful."—N. Y. C. & St. L. Ry. Co. vs. Schaffer, 65 Ohio 414, Jan. 21, 1902.

"Efforts to unionize shop unlawful."—Loewe et al. vs. Lawlor et al., 208 U. S. 274, Feb. 3, 1908.

"Contract work to union house is void."—State vs. Toole, 26 Mont. 22.

"Constitutional to require men to leave union."—People vs. Harry Marcus, 185 N. Y. 257, May 25, 1906.

"Union labor has no right to conduct a strike."—Alfred W. Booth & Co. vs. Burgess et al., 65 Atlantic Reporter 226, Nov. 26, 1906.

"Unlawful to induce non-union men to quit work."—Enterprise Foundry Co. vs. Iron Moulders' Union, 112 N. W. 685, July 1, 1907.

"The unfair list forbidden."—Wilson et al., 232 Ill. 389, Feb. 20, 1908.

"Employer has right to bar out unions."—Flaccus vs. Smith, 199 Pa. St. 128.

"Anti-trust act applies to labor unions as well as to combinations of capitalists."—U. S. vs. Workingmen's Amalgamated Council, 54 Fed. Rep. 994; Loewe vs. Lawlor, 208 U. S. 274.

"The Boycott is unlawful."—Loewe vs. Lawlor, 208 U. S. 274.

"Members of labor unions liable to threefold damages for injuries in business or property sustained by individuals or firms by reason of a boycott."—Loewe vs. Lawlor, 208 U. S. 274.

"A combination of men to secure or compel the employment of none but union men is unlawful."—U. S. vs. Workingmen's Amalgamated Council, 54 Fed. Rep. 994.

"Limiting check payment unconstitutional."—Indiana supreme court, Nathan G. Dixon, Appt., vs. James H. Poe, 60 L. R. A. 308, Nov. 25, 1902.

"Unlawful to fix wages by law."—New York supreme court, People ex rel. Wm. J. Rodgers, Respt., vs. Bird S. Coler, Appt., 166 N. Y., 52 L. R. A. 814.

"Protection of laborer not required."—New York court of appeals, Sarah Knisley, Respt., vs. Pascal P. Pratt et al., Appts., 148 N. Y. 362, 32 L. A. R. 367.

"No extra pay for extra hours."—New York court of appeals, People, Respt., vs. James R. Phyfe, Appt., Jan. 17, 1893.

"Employer not responsible for death of employe."—Circuit court of appeals, eighth circuit, March 19, 1900. Westland vs. Gold Coin Mines Co., 101 Fed. Rep. 59, 64, 65 and 66.

"Labor check payments are legal."—Massachusetts supreme judicial court. Commonwealth of Massachusetts vs. Josiah Perry, 14 L. R. A. 326.

"No remedy for labor except personal suit."—Massachusetts supreme judicial court. Diannah Worthington et al., Appts., vs. James Warring et al., 157 Mass. 421.

"Employers need not furnish doctor to injured."—Massachusetts supreme judicial court. Alexander Davis by next friend vs. William H. Forbes, 171 Mass. 548.

"Employers not liable for injuries."—Massachusetts supreme court. Wm. O'Mailly vs. South Boston Gaslight Co., 158 Mass. 135.

"Altering contract is legal for employers."—Illinois supreme court. Richard Pensey, Appt., vs. People of Illinois, 17 L. R. A., 853.

"Employers need not recommend satisfactory employes."—Illinois supreme court, C., C., C. & L. Ry. Co., Appt., vs. Charles Jenkins, 174 Ill. 398.

"Legal to jail a man a month without trial."—Oregon supreme court, Longshore Printing & Publishing Co., Appt., vs. George H. Howell et al., 26 Ore. 527.

"The right to blacklist upheld."—Kentucky court of appeals, John Hundley, Appt., vs. L. & N. Ry. Co., 105 Ky. 162.

"Any wilful attempt of employes of a railroad in the hands of a receiver to impede or hinder the operation of the road is contempt of court."—Thomas vs. C. N. O. & T. P. Ry. Co., 62 Fed. Rep. 803. Taft, circuit judge.

"To instigate a strike on a road in the hands of a receiver is unlawful and a contempt of court."—Thomas vs. C. N. O. & T. Ry. Co., 62 Fed. Rep. 803. Taft, circuit judge.

"A sympathetic strike is an unlawful conspiracy by reason of its purpose, whether such purpose is effected by means usually lawful or otherwise."—Thomas vs. C. N. O. & T. Ry. Co., 62 Fed. Rep. 803. Taft, circuit judge.

"Any obstructing or retarding the mails by strikers is an unlawful conspiracy in violation of Section 3975, Revised Statutes, although the obstruction is effected by merely quitting employment."—Thomas vs. C. N. O. & T. P. Ry. Co., 62 Fed. Rep. 803. Taft, circuit judge.

"A law forbidding discrimination against an employe because of his membership in a labor union, and making it a misdemeanor for an employer to discharge an employe because of membership in a labor union, is unconstitutional."—Adair case, 208 U. S. 161.

(f) OLD PARTIES SAY UNIONS ARE TRUSTS.

A Bill to Exempt Labor Unions From the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Defeated in the Senate June 9, 1910.

| | For. | Against. | Dodged. |
|-------------------|------|----------|---------|
| Republicans | 6 | 32 | 23 |
| Democrats | 10 | 2 | 19 |
| Total | 16 | 34 | 42 |

(g) THE CATHOLIC UNIONS OF GERMANY.

(From "The Church and Trade Unions in Germany," by Dr. A. Erdmann, Member of the German Reichstag.)

The labor movement in some of the European countries is not always united. In some of them, especially in Germany, we find a so-called Christian labor movement existing quite apart from the general or socialist labor movement. Representatives of the Catholic church and of the Clerical party, which is known in Germany as the Center or "Centrum" party (their representatives have formerly sat in the "center" of the Reichstag), are collectively responsible for the formation of this secessionist movement. Efforts have of late been made to establish a similar movement in the United States of America and in other countries. Certain spokesmen of the Clerical party, of which Mr. Geisberts for instance, who is a member of the Center party in the Reichstag, is one, have indeed been actively engaged in such a campaign in the United States with a view to preparing public opinion and to inducing the workers to a move in the direction prescribed by them. Certain preparations have been completed since and will some day be followed by

the formation of social circles and Christian labor organizations. The facts mentioned are probably responsible for the great number of inquiries which have reached the "Generalkommission der Gewerkschafter Deutschlands" (the national center or federation of German trade unions) from all parts of the United States, asking for information respecting the Christian trades unions in Germany.

The Catholic Church in Germany, at a comparatively early stage, commenced to give attention to the workers. The Catholic Journeymen's Association was established immediately after the 1848 revolution in Germany. The founder of this organization was a Catholic priest, named Kolping, who had two principal aims in view: to improve the material and social position of the journeymen, and, at the same time, keep them away from the lively political movement of that period and protect them against the possible renunciation of the Catholic faith.

After long and bitter disputes the Catholics played what they thought must be the winning card; this was no more nor less than the inter-denominational system, under which a union should be formed accepting both Catholics and Protestants into its folds.

* * *

The Catholic politicians chose this form of organization, in order to gain the support of the Protestant workers and to allay any suspicion that same may be out and out Catholic. At any rate they were not afraid that the Protestant influence would overcome that of the Catholic in the organization. The Protestant Church had not such a hold over its workers as the Catholic; the Protestant workers, as far as politics are concerned, follow their own inclinations. It was a foregone conclusion that the number of Protestant workers joining the "Christian" unions, far from increasing, would become proportionately smaller. And that is what happened. Not a tenth part of the members of the "Christian" unions are Protestants; nine-tenths are Catholics and typical "center" men. The name "interdenominational" is only a cloak thrown over an organization as Catholic as anything that has ever hailed from the Vatican. The "Christian" organizations have been established by the "Center" for the purpose of defending the latter against the Socialist Workers' Movement.

The "Christian" trade unions were too weak in numbers as well as financially to enter upon an independent wages movement. If anything was to be done it could only be done by amalgamating with the strong Socialist unions. So we see in many cases since 1911 both organizations working together, and it must be admitted that the "Christian" unions have conducted themselves very creditably and soberly. Judging by how things are shaping, the possibility of both organizations amalgamating is not so very remote.

It must be remarked that the more strictly ecclesiastic factions among the German Catholics were, from the outset, opposed to the establishment of the "Christian" trade unions. The very fact of combining with the Protestants seemed, in itself, to constitute a great menace to the salvation of the Catholic worker.

The resistance offered by the strict Catholic body grew as the "Christian" trade unions associated themselves with the movements of the Socialist unions; as they steered more and more towards the independent labor movement, and came out with the demand to manage the economic questions concerning their members, to their own liking and upon their own responsibility, and to lay aside all spiritual advice and meddling.

* * *

The advanced Catholic body then drew the attention of the

bishops to the new movement, and these ecclesiastics sent out a notice to the clerics in 1900 in which the "Christian" unions were described as organizations running counter to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and therefore quite unsuitable for the Catholic worker. If Catholic workers wanted to look after their economic interests, they might form sections for the different callings in their unions, through which they might act—under the guidance of an ecclesiastical management—for the betterment of their worldly lot. That was the long and short of the judgment passed upon the "Christian" trade unions by the German bishops. Since the condemnation of the "Christian" unions by the bishops, the strict Catholics have strained every nerve for the establishing of the trade sections prescribed. Strict Catholic trade union movements were conducted parallelly with the "Christian" trade union movements, the Catholics boasting that they were working in complete harmony with the doctrines of the Church and the injunctions of the Pope, to a Divine end.

The two sections of the Catholic Trade Union Movement have fought each other up to the present in most vigorous manner. Each section has tried its best to win the greater favor in the eyes of the Bishops and the Pope, and wherever possible to bring about the destruction of its opponent; each claiming to be endowed with the highest authority.

What displeased the Church in regard to the "Christian" trade unions, was not only the fact that the Catholic and Protestant organizations worked in conjunction one with the other, and laid claims to a certain independence in economic movements, but also the fact that same were prepared to resort to strikes if necessary. The Catholic moralist does not repudiate strike action in principle, but describes same as, being accompanied by countless dangers for the worker and his family, as well as the community at large. The Church tries rather to dissuade the men from striking, than to forbid them. It is, at any rate, requested that the workers follow the advice of the Church when contemplating any struggle which seems likely to assume serious dimensions. In order to give an idea of the Church's attitude towards the workers' movement, and especially to strikes, a few passages from the Encyclical relating to Trades Unions are reproduced here:

"Whatever the Christian does, even in the disposition of earthly matters, the Heavenly treasures must not be lost sight of. He should, rather, do everything according to the principles of the Christian Philosophy, always aiming at the highest of all treasures. All his actions, as far as they conform with the nature and Divine laws or deviate from same, are subject to the judgment of the Church.

"Those who individually or collectively profess to be Christians, and who wish to live up to their faith, must not stir up strife or animosity among the different classes of society, but must rather strive for peace and brotherly love.

"The social questions and those questions, so closely bound up in same, concerning character and times of work, payment of wages, and strikes, are not questions of a merely economic character, and should not, therefore, be counted among those questions which can be settled independent of the Episcopal authorities, but on the contrary, there is no doubt that the social question is a question of morals and religion, and should therefore be solved, primarily, according to the moral and religious philosophies."

The Catholic worker shall live at peace with those in other stations of life, i. e., the employers, and shall not attempt to seek the settlement of questions concerning wages and working times, except with the cognisance and advice of the Church dignitaries! Could anyone possibly conceive a more pernicious attack upon

the people's right of settling their own questions for themselves? Can a movement which will submit to such an attack dare to sail under the name of Workers' Organization? Can one depend upon such an organization as gives itself completely into the hands of a higher power, to stand firm and resolute by its brother workers in the hour of emergency? Must one not come to the conclusion that, under the influence brought to bear upon them by their acknowledged ecclesiastical leaders, they will turn their backs ignominiously upon their fighting comrades in order to maintain peace with those in other spheres of life?

* * *

The answer to these questions may be found in the miners' strike in Rhineland-Westphalia in the beginning of the year 1912. As long ago as 1910 the Rhineland-Westphalian miners had drawn up a plan for a wages movement. The Socialists, the Liberals, and the Polish Miners' Union had agreed to approach the sixteen mine owners with certain demands, the most important among which was one for an increase in wages. The wages had fallen very considerably since 1907; the cost of living, on the other hand, had gone up considerably. The miners demanded no more than a levelling up of the wages with the cost of living. The aforementioned unions made overtures to the Unions of the Christian miners, which, however, made pretexts for not joining them. This adversely affected the economic situation so that the remainder of the organizations refused to proceed further in the movement; not, however, because they considered the reasons put forward by the "Christian" trade unions plausible, but rather because they looked upon the closest combination among the miners as being indispensable to the successful carrying through of their demands. The end of 1911 saw a repetition of this occurrence. Unity once more characterized the relations existing between the three organizations—the Socialist, the Liberal, and the Polish—in the movement for higher wages. Once more the "Christian" union backed out and the movement was postponed. The leaders of the three unions had, in the meantime found out that the object of the leaders of the "Christian" unions was to frustrate the attempts and to arrest the progress of the miners. The "Christian" leaders relied upon the strength of their organization, which numbered some 45,000 in Ruhrbecken, as compared with the 80,000 belonging to the Socialist and some thousands belonging to the Polish and Liberal unions. They considered themselves to be masters of the situation, and looked upon themselves as being able to cripple every wages movement, and hold the destiny of the German miners in their hands. After careful weighing up of the "pros" and "cons," notice of strike was given on the 10th of March. This step was not taken until all possible means of arriving at a settlement of their demands had been exhausted.

Of the 360,000 miners employed in the Rhineland-Westphalian pits, 220,000—most of whom were under-ground workers—soon found themselves on strike. The "Christian" leaders saw that their plans had miscarried and that numerous members of their organization had taken part in the strike. Then, with an appalling contempt for the truth they held forth upon the atrocities wrought upon those who were willing to work by the strikers. The clerical press excreted blood and thunder stories of the violent treatment to which those willing to work would be subjected, at the hands of the strikers. The sole object of this outcry was that the government might decide to send police and

soldiers to intimidate the miners into resuming work. The strike was to be broken by masses of armed men, by the mailed fist, by police and military terrorism. And it was the "Christian" trade unions, headed by Herr Giesberts—a man well known in America—which shrieked for the police and the soldiers, through the press, and incited the armed mass against their fellow workers. The German Government, which is entirely under the influence of the capitalists, and such like sworn enemies of the people, answered the cries of the clerics, and dispatched soldiers and machine guns to the strike district. This frightful display of force had the effect of frightening many of the strikers back to their work, and so the strike had to be declared at an end by the leaders of the movement, after same had lasted ten days. Now, why had the "Christian" leaders deported themselves so ignominiously? In 1905 the "Christian" unions had stood by the other unions in a fourteen days strike, honorably, and as men. Why this contemptible betrayal, unparalleled in the history of the German Trade Union Movement, some years later? One reason may be found in the relation of the "Christian" unions to the Church.

These unions had already been compelled to pledge themselves to the Bishops (end 1910) and to the observance of the doctrines of the Church in their economic movements, before the Papal encyclical was sent out. It is no secret that social peace, and abstinence from great economic struggles play the chief role in unions of this category.

Politics also had a great deal to do with the matter. The "Center" was becoming more and more harassed by the Social Democratic Party in the Rhineland-Westphalia district, and in order to be in a position to make a stand against same, they were obliged to obtain, by hook or by crook, the support of the liberals at the elections. As the great mine owners belonged to the Liberal party the "Center" dared not run foul of same. Herr Giesberts, the "Christian" union leader, has to thank the industrial giants and their "yellow" pigmies for his seat in the Reichstag as member for Essen.

As the "Christian" unions have no further chance of making any conquests among the independent workers, their leaders, in order to recover lost ground, have concentrated their attention upon the workers engaged in public services. It is a well known fact that the governments of Prussia, Saxony, and other German states have denied the right of combination to officials and workers engaged in state service, etc., or at least taken special care that state employes shall not belong to any Socialist organization. The "Christian" leaders are after these workers, as the concerns under the control of the State are continually increasing in extent and number, and it would be a good thing to be able to fill up their ranks from this body of workers. For this purpose two things are necessary: First, the permission of the authorities to organize the workers in public service under the "Christian" unions. In order to gain this end they have renounced all right to strike, which is equivalent to abandoning their right to combination. Secondly, in order that they may be free from competition they want the Government to assist them, by forbidding the employes, as before, to join the socialist unions. The Government is prepared to grant both requests, for which the "Christian" trade unions had to promise to act only in such a manner as would please the Government and conduce to their interests. These two bodies now find themselves shoulder to shoulder with mutual interests and a common aim; that of depriving the German workers of the right to combine, of their right to strike, as well as their free agency in matters pertaining to their economic development. It can be easily understood that the

Government are doing their best in Rome to prevent the Pope from forbidding the "Christian" unions, and also why the "Christian" trade union leaders supported the Government in their efforts to smother the strike by means of soldiers and police. The "Christian" trade union leaders belong to the most malicious agitators against the right of combination among the workers in state or public service. Formerly the Bavarian railway worker was at liberty to join what organization he thought fit. Upon his availing himself of this right by joining the Railway Workers' Union, a union conducted on sound modern trade union principles, along came the leaders of the Bavarian "Center" party and denounced this union as Social-Democratic, demanding the Bavarian Government to forbid same. The Government resisted this demand for a long time. Upon the leader of the "Center" party (Hentling) becoming Prime Minister, the fate of the railway union was sealed. He declared that he was driven to forbid the right to strike under pain of the union being dissolved; but this did not help him. The Bavarian Government gave notice that no official or worker employed by the Bavarian Traffic Ministry would in future be allowed to belong to the said Railway Workers' Union, and in order to give full effect to the interdict upon this union, the Government extended same to the Metal Workers' and Transport Workers' Unions; both socialistic organizations. The "Center" press and the whole army of "Christian" leaders shouted for joy and approbation at this unheard of injustice, through which the Bavarian worker was to be deprived of his rights.

**Number of Members; Additional Members; Annual Income and
Total Funds, Absolute and Per Member, of the Central
Federations and Christian Trades Unions Durnig
the Years 1900, 1905, 1910, 1911.**

| | | Number of members | Increase or decrease. | Total year's income M. | Per head M. | Total funds M. | Per head M. |
|---------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1900 | | | | | | | |
| Central Federa- tions | 680,427 | ..... | 9,454,075 | 13.89 | 7,745,901 | 11.38 | |
| Christian Trade Unions | 159,770 | ..... | 485,546 | 3.04 | 51,996 | 0.33 | |
| 1905 | | | | | | | |
| Central Federa- tions | 680,427 | ..... | 9,454,075 | 13.89 | 7,745,901 | 11.38 | |
| Christian Trade Unions | 159,770 | ..... | 485,546 | 3.04 | 51,996 | 0.33 | |
| 1910 | | | | | | | |
| Central Federa- tions | 1,344,803 | 664,376 | 27,812,257 | 20.68 | 19,635,850 | 14.60 | |
| Christian Trade Unions | 265,032 | 105,262 | 2,674,190 | 10.09 | 1,523,214 | 5.75 | |
| 1911 | | | | | | | |
| Central Federa- tions | 2,017,298 | 672,495 | 64,372,190 | 31.91 | 52,575,505 | 26.06 | |
| Christian Trade Unions | 295,129 | 30,097 | 5,490,994 | 18.61 | 6,113,710 | 20.72 | |
| 1911 | | | | | | | |
| Central Federa- tions | 2,320,986 | 303,688 | 72,086,957 | 31.06 | 62,105,821 | 26.76 | |
| Christian Trade Unions | 340,957 | 45,828 | 6,243,642 | 18.31 | 7,082,942 | 20.77 | |

**Sums Expended Upon Strikes and Contributed Towards the
Financial Assistance of the Strikers by the Central
Federations and the Christian Trade Unions During
the Years 1905, 1910, 1911.**

| | | Legal Protection and Financial As- sistance | | For lockouts, strikes, and vic- timised workers | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|---|----------------|---|----------------|
| | Number of members. | Total M. | Per head M. | Total M. | Per head M. |
| 1905 | | | | | |
| Central Federations.... | 1,544,803 | 3,761,622 | 2.79 | 10,160,859 | 7.55 |
| Christian Trade Unions | 188,106 | 173,168 | 0.92 | 1,000,320 | 5.32 |
| 1910 | | | | | |
| Central Federations.... | 2,017,298 | 18,704,323 | 9.27 | 20,413,343 | 10.12 |
| Christian Trade Unions | 295,129 | 1,154,275 | 3.91 | 1,239,500 | 4.20 |
| 1911 | | | | | |
| Central Federations.... | 2,320,986 | 20,478,495 | 8.82 | 18,198,847 | 7.84 |
| Christian Trade Unions | 340,957 | 1,243,347 | 3.65 | 1,199,598 | 3.52 |

“Central Federations are those trade union bodies which are organized in the General Commission of Trade Unions, and at the same time affiliated to the International Secretariat. They call themselves the “free” and “politically neutral” unions; whilst in the capitalist press they are usually referred to as “Socialist” unions.

**(h) IS THIS A THREAT TO ORGANIZE CATHOLIC
UNIONS?**

(Statement by Rev. Peter E. Dietz of Milwaukee, at the American Federation of Labor Convention, Seattle, Wash.,
November 13, 1913.)

“The Catholic Church is opposed to Socialism absolutely and will have no Socialistic philosophy whatever. If the federation cares for the approval and support of the Catholic Church—and it does—it will continue to commend itself to Christian philosophy.

“In this country there are no Catholic and no Christian trade unions. The American union movement of the past was a neutral one, as best befitting the nature of this country’s development. So long as it remained neutral it gave satisfaction. But in proportion as it yields to Socialism it will give less satisfaction to Christian people.”

(i) THE PRIVATE ARMIES OF CAPITAL.

(From “Violence and the Labor Movement,” and “The Gunmen”—Pearson’s Magazine, March, 1914—Robert Hunter.)

The most astounding revelations as to the methods of the capitalist classes of this country have recently been made public. The published material appeared first in an article by Robert Hunter in the March, 1914, issue of Pearson’s Magazine on “The Gunmen of Industry.” More recently Mr. Hunter has written his book entitled “Violence and the Labor Movement.” (The Macmillan Company.)

According to the evidence here published, gathered from many sources and based upon unchallenged authorities, the following astounding facts are established:

1. It is probable that there are in the employ of the various agencies now supplying private armed forces to the corporations and industries, more men than are enlisted in the regular army of the United States.

2. These private armies of capitalism are recruited very largely from the vicious and criminal elements of the country, often from the very jails and penitentiaries themselves. (See

testimony of representatives of detective agencies, members of United States Secret Service, quoted by Hunter).

3. These private armies of the capitalist classes are ready to commit and actually do commit any crime, from theft to wholesale murder, in the service of their masters.

In support of these statements we present the following excerpts from the articles by Mr. Hunter above referred to:

"It is probable that it has constantly in its employ more men than are enlisted in the regular army of the United States. To support such an army means the levying of a heavy tribute on American industry. Perhaps a few figures will convey some idea of the extent and of the profits of this commerce. An agent operating in West Virginia and Colorado testified that he has employed as many as 5,000 men. Another agent has testified that he supplied in one strike as many as 1,000 men. Still another witness says that, in one of our great strikes, there were over 2,000 armed detectives employed, while several hundred more were scattered for secret service among the strikers. Mr. Leroy Scott, a few years ago, undertook to describe in 'World's Work' the activities of one of the great strike-breaking agencies. He declared that that particular agency had 35,000 men enrolled and that the head of the agency was in communication with 7,000 or 8,000 others. In one brief strike he supplied 5,000 men, and his income for handling that strike was equal to the annual salary of the President of the United States. This gives some idea of the immense profits that come to the manipulators of this commerce. In reality, they make enormous sums, which is clear from the fact that they pay their men from \$2 to \$3 a day, while they receive from the employer on an average \$5 a day. Of course the profits of these agencies depend upon the number of men employed, and consequently the chief interest of these agencies is to get more and more of their men employed. An agency that can supply 1,000 men and make out of them \$2,000 a day is conducting an enormously profitable concern."

As to the criminal character and general nature of these "private armies of capitalism," Mr. Hunter has this to say:

"Fortunately we have some very direct evidence concerning the character of these detectives. Thomas Beet, who for some time represented an English detective agency in this country, was so astounded when he learned of the criminal work undertaken by our detectives that he felt it his duty to expose the entire traffic. This he did in a remarkable article written for Appleton's Magazine, October, 1906. He there declared that 'there are detectives at the head of prominent agencies in this country whose pictures adorn the rogues' gallery; men who have served time in various prisons for almost every crime on the calendar. * * * Fully ninety per cent of the private detective establishments, masquerading in whatever form, are rotten to the core.' William J. Burns says of the men of his profession that, 'as a class, they are the biggest lot of blackmailing thieves that ever went unwhipped of justice.'

"A reputable detective, formerly in the United States Secret Service, testified several years ago that, as a class, the detectives were 'the scum of the earth.' * * * 'There is not one out of ten that would not commit murder; that you could not hire to commit murder or any other crime.'

"A detective named Le Vin declared before the industrial Commission of the United States that there were detective agencies where men could employ thugs to beat up anybody. A few years ago the late Magistrate Henry Steinert grew very indignant in court over the shooting of a young lad by these special officers.

"I think it an outrage," he declared, 'that the Police Com-

missioner is enabled to furnish police power to these special officers, many of them thugs, men out of work, some of whom would commit murder for two dollars.'

* * *

"You have only to call on the telephone any one of hundreds of 'detective' agencies to obtain an assassin of the very choicest brand. You should not, of course, ask for a thief or a pickpocket or a murderer. You should ask for an operator or a special officer or a private detective. But, no matter what you ask for, you will get a man carefully selected for his skill in criminal work. You will obtain a man who can shoot straight and an agent who needs no troublesome explanations or detailed instructions. He will be an understanding person, who will comprehend very easily and quickly the nature of the work to be done. Trained in the ways of the underworld, the 'detective' will undertake to see that the patron is successful in whatever mischief he wants done. He will steal the correspondence of a business rival—bribe his clerks, burn his factories, or incite a strike among his employes. He will dynamite his works, slug him or any one else, and, in case court work is necessary, he will obtain enough perjured evidence to accomplish almost any purpose whatsoever. There is, in fact, hardly any conceivable crime that the mercenaries supplied by the American Mafia are not capable of committing. And, most important of all, no matter what the agents do, it is understood that they will be fully cared for by the Mafia and protected all along the line by its able attorneys. This American Mafia has its agents in every city and town in the country."

Among the crooked detective's various activities, Mr. Hunter classifies strike-breaking as the most profitable, and he tells us that "whenever there is prospect of a strike being settled peaceably, the gunmen get busy," manufacture trouble, blame the strikers, and so prolong their own employment. They themselves, we read, "burn buildings, wreck railroads, or dynamite property," thus insuring continuance of their jobs and the probability that additional "strike-breakers" will be engaged.

* * *

"Altogether the most profitable activity of the American Mafia is the work of strike-breaking. At such times the Mafia supplies armies of men to the manufacturers. In the railway strikes about 1890, in Homestead in 1892, and elsewhere, hundreds of men armed with Winchester rifles were employed, while in Chicago in 1894, 3,600 vagabonds were hurriedly gathered together, armed and enlisted as United States marshals. Drunken, insulting and brutal, these official representatives of the Federal Government were referred to by Superintendent of Police Brennan of Chicago, as 'thugs, thieves and ex-convicts,' some of whom 'are now over in the county jail. * * * arrested while deputy marshals for highway robbery.' In Colorado, during the strike of the miners a few years ago, hundreds of detectives were at work, and some of them were exposed as instigating murder, train-wrecking, and arson.

"In Milwaukee, during the great molders' strike of a few years ago, over 40 so-called detectives were arrested for beating up union men. It was proved in court that the head of the detective agency went personally to Chicago to employ two men at twenty dollars per day to come back with him to Milwaukee to commit a murder. The murder was committed on the person of Peter J. Cramer, the leader of the strike. A few years ago, at Latimer, Pennsylvania, a peaceable parade of 250 miners was attacked by guards armed with Winchester rifles, with the result that 29 miners were murdered and 30 others were seriously injured. Recently, in the Westmoreland mining district, no less than 20 striking miners were murdered, while

several hundred were seriously injured. Not long ago deputies and strikebreakers became intoxicated and shot up the town of Latrobe, Pennsylvania, and in the recent strike against the Lake Carriers' Association, six union men were killed by private detectives. These outrages are coming to be more and more the common incidents of every great strike. Our industrial conflicts provoke a state of complete anarchy, and, at such times, our newspapers are filled with stories of the terrible outrages that occur. In most cases the strikers are held responsible by the capitalist press, despite the fact that unbiased observers have pointed out, in almost every case, that the outrages are the deliberate work of the criminal hirelings of this commerce in crime.

"One of the most tragic stories of the work of these gunmen was told to the committee of the United States Senate appointed to investigate the conditions in West Virginia. On the night of February 7, 1913, one of the owners of some coal mines in West Virginia gathered together a band of gunmen for the express purpose of shooting up a village of strikers. They had been evicted from their cabins, and, when the United Mine Workers had supplied them with tents and bedding, they set up a camp. The mine owners, of course, wanted to drive them out of the district, and when the news reached the detectives that a man had been shot in the village, a coal operator ordered an armored train to be got ready. It was called the Bull Moose, and heavy sheets of steel lined its sides for the protection of the detectives. A machine gun capable of 120 shots a minute was mounted on the train and about twenty gunmen armed with high-powered Winchester rifles made up the crew. The train was taken up the valley at night, and as it neared the village the lights were turned out. As the train was passing the first tent the firing began, and as it moved slowly through the village a continuous fusillade was poured upon the men, women and children in the tents. This is the story in brief as it was told to the Senate Committee. One of the gunmen testified that Quinn Morton (a mine owner) wanted to have the train go back through the village and "give them another round." Whereupon Senator Martine exclaimed:

"'This man, who, in the name of heaven, can he be, that would propose to go back and kill more? Is he an ordinary citizen?'"

"Mr. Jackson: 'He will be before you, Senator.'"

"Senator Martine: 'Well, God help us all, then.'"

* * *

"As soon as the strike occurred in the Calumet district the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company began importing gunmen. Most of them came from the Archer and the Waddell-Mahon detective agencies in New York. The Waddell-Mahon Agency has what amounts to a standing army of men to be used as guards at strikes. James A. Waddell, who directed his men at Calumet, explained that most of them were former New York policemen, but he did not explain how they happened to leave the force. With the assistance of the state troops they kept the strikers indoors after seven in the evening, and did not permit them to come out again till nine in the morning. And now the Federal Government is investigating the deportation of Charles H. Moyer from Calumet. Well, the government has investigated before, but it has always stopped there. Let us hope that it will go farther this time. If the investigation is sincere the Government will learn that these "detectives" create more violence than they suppress. Mr. Moyer, by the way, was shot in the back. No apparent effort has been made to apprehend the man who shot him, but Moyer has been indicted. So justice moves in Michigan."

(j) THE STATE CONSTABULARY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Speaking of the private armed forces of capitalism, the situation in Pennsylvania is unique. The state laws with regard to the state police and the various types of "peace officers" show a tendency both dangerous and alarming. There are in each community in Pennsylvania, besides the local police force, 4 classes of peace officers:

- (1) The state coal and iron police.
- (2) Deputy sheriffs.
- (3) Deputy constables.
- (4) The state police.

The state coal and iron police are nothing but the hired military force of the corporations. The act providing for the establishment of this coal and iron police reads as follows:

"That the provisions of the act of the 27th of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-five, entitled 'an act empowering railroad companies to employ police force,' be and the same are hereby extended to embrace all corporations, firms, or individuals owning, leasing, or being in possession of any colliery, furnace or rolling mill within this Commonwealth, and that upon the application of any such corporation, firm or individual, the governor may appoint and commission policemen, under the provisions of the act to which this is a supplement: Provided, That the words 'coal and iron police' shall be engraved upon the shields to be worn by the policemen appointed under this act instead of the words 'railway police,' as provided by the act to which this is a supplement: And provided further, That the governor shall have power to decline to make any such appointment sought to be made under the provisions of this supplement whenever the circumstances of the case, in his opinion, do not require it, and at any time to revoke the commission of any policeman appointed hereunder."

From this it will be seen that any big corporation is authorized, under the law of the state of Pennsylvania, to make application to the governor, who, upon such application, may appoint such police. These police are paid by the companies. (See Report on the Miners' Strike in Bituminous Coal Field in Westmoreland County, Pa., H. R. document No. 847, 62d congress, 2d session, p. 93.)

Deputy constables are appointed upon application of not less than 25 taxpayers of any county in the state of Pennsylvania to the court of quarter sessions of said county. The act relative to the appointment of deputy constables was approved on May 9, 1889, and reads as follows:

"Upon the petition of not less than twenty-five taxpayers of the township of any county of this Commonwealth to the court of quarter sessions of said county, representing that the safety of the citizens and the security of property makes, in their opinion, necessary the appointment of one or two deputy constables, to act as policemen, it shall be the duty of the court to consider said petition and, if satisfied of the reasonableness and propriety of said application, to make such appointment for such time and number as to the court may seem proper; and such deputy constables so appointed shall severally possess and exercise all the powers of policemen of cities of this Commonwealth in the several townships in which they shall be so appointed as aforesaid, and the keepers of jails, lockups, or station houses are required to receive all persons arrested by such policemen for the commission of any offense against the laws of this Commonwealth within the township for which they shall be appointed as aforesaid."

Under the provisions of this act it is possible for the companies to secure the appointment of additional policemen and,

as a matter of fact, these also are in time of strike generally paid by the company and therefore are really in their service. (See report mentioned above, p. 94.)

As to the state police, this is a standing force, semi-military in character, which is regularly supported by the state. We quote from the report on the miners' strike, above referred to, which says that this standing body was created by an act of 1905:

"The state police is a standing body and was created by an act of 1905. It is frequently, but inaccurately, called the 'state constabulary.' It is composed of four companies or troops, each of which, when full, consists of 7 officers and 50 men. They are appointed by the superintendent of the state police and are a carefully selected and well-trained body. They wear uniforms, are equipped with pistols, rifles and maces, and are mounted. They live in permanent barracks, and the barracks of one of the companies, called Troop A, are located a mile and a half from Greensburg. The state police were the only peace officers who served on strike duty that were a disciplined force or whose services were not paid for by the coal companies."

Speaking of the strike in Westmoreland County, the commissioners of labor said that the state coal and iron police, the deputy sheriffs and the deputy constables were all paid by the company. The state police was paid by the state.

Of these four types of police force of the state of Pennsylvania, the state police, popularly known as the constabulary, seems to be the most objectionable and dangerous. James H. Maurer, socialist representative from Burks County, introduced a measure in the state legislature on March 16, 1911, asking for the abolition of the department of state police. In so doing he presented the following in support of his proposition:

"The institution to start with is un-American. It is in direct conflict with our American ideas of liberty, and I shall prove that it does not maintain law and order, but provokes disorder; that it does not protect life and property, but takes life and causes property to be destroyed; that the real object of this institution (the Department of State Police) is not to protect life and property, but is organized solely for the purpose of intimidating the workmen of Pennsylvania at such times as the masters of our industries make living conditions unbearable; that the department was created for the sole purpose of aiding great combinations of capitalists when in conflict with their employes, the following record made by this department during the past five years will prove. I shall cite very briefly a few concrete cases:

"In the early part of 1910 the employes at the Bethlehem Steel Works were on strike. I was there during the early part of the strike. Everything was orderly, scarcely a drunken street brawl. The local police records will show that very few arrests were made, and that exceptional good order prevailed. But the men were not working, and this meant a loss of thousands to the company, or more properly speaking, the Steel Trust.

"The workers appealed to both our Governor and the President of the United States for an investigation, but neither found the time, or, as one said, a law giving him such power. But when Mr. Schwab or his agents asked for State aid, it was promptly granted. The constabulary went to South Bethlehem and was used for no other purpose than to break the strike. Remember, the local police records show that order prevailed until these uniformed strike-breakers arrived. Almost immediately upon their arrival a regime of terror was inaugurated; men, women and children were beaten, ridden down, and murder committed. Wholesale arrests were made on trumped up charges; those arrested were held as prisoners on steel com-

pany property, denied the right of counsel and finally tried under the direct supervision of Schwab's agents. **Gentlemen**, what could have been the purpose of this viciousness and brutality, that beggars description? The answer is easy: To stampede the men back to work, to break a peaceable and orderly strike. And this is what your uniformed, legalized State strike-breakers have done—broken the strike."

In further support of his proposition for the abolition of the state police, Maurer referred to the Report on Strike at Bethlehem Steel Works, South Bethlehem, Penn., by the commissioner of labor. (Senate Document No. 521, 61st Congress, 2d session.) This report states definitely that no serious trouble had occurred in the strike district up to the time of the appearance of the state police, and that as soon as the state police appeared trouble began. The report says:

"Nothing had occurred between the 4th of February, the date of the beginning of the strike of machinists, and the 24th of February, worthy of special notice * * * and according to the statement of the chief of police, 'there were no reports of any violence up to the night of February 25.'

"On February 25, at the request of the sheriff, the governor ordered some of the state police to South Bethlehem, where they arrived on the morning of the 26th. During the day there were several clashes between the state police and crowds collected on the streets. During one of these clashes a number of people were injured, and one man who was in the barroom of a hotel was killed by a shot fired by one of the state police." (p. 20.)

As to what followed the arrival of the constabulary, we quote from the statement of the chief of police of South Bethlehem, Mr. Hugh Kelley, from the senate document above referred to. He says:

"When the constabulary arrived here, February 26, 1910, neither the burgess or myself, as chief of police, were informed of their arrival. They were in charge of the sheriff. About two blocks from where they got off the cars, at Third and New streets, one of the troopers jumped off his horse, caught a man by the throat, pulled his collar and tie off, without any reason. On their way down to the steel company's office they assaulted a number of other people standing on the corners of the streets. In one instance one of the local police officers who witnessed this assault, protested against it, but he had no weight whatever. They beat people standing peaceably on the street; men were arrested and taken to the plant of the steel company and there confined.

"They started out on our streets, beat down our people without any reason whatever, and they shot down an innocent man, Joseph Zambo, who was not on the street, but was in the Majestic Hotel. One of the troopers rode up on the pavement at the hotel door and fired two shots into the barroom, shooting one man in the mouth and another (Szambo) through the head, who died that afternoon.

"There was no disturbance of any kind at this hotel, the Majestic was the headquarters of the leaders who were conducting the strike.

"The troopers were sent out through the town, and whatever riot or trouble have occurred in our town since their arrival is due entirely to their high-handed and cowardly attacks upon innocent people.

"Troopers went into the houses of people without warrant and searched the inmates, drove people from their own doorsteps. They beat an old man at least sixty years of age. Struck him with a riot stick, knocked him down, and left him in a very bad condition. This is only one of a dozen similar cases.

"During the Philadelphia carmen's strike, the troopers, as

usual, were placed at the disposal of the Rapid Transit Company, and used for the same purposes as they were at Bethlehem.

"To give an account of individual acts, or give an account of their work collectively or generally would take considerable time. A citizen, who is a merchant on Germantown avenue, and who is also a native of Russia, says: 'I can hardly make myself believe that it really happened, yet I saw men beaten, women and children chased about the streets like cattle, and I was not permitted to stand on my own door step. I thought the Cossacks in Russia were murderers, but your State Constabulary is one hundred per cent worse than the Russian Cossacks.'

"That the Constabulary was created in the interest of industrial masters, and is used for this purpose, is proven even by Superintendent John C. Groome's own report to ex-Governor Stuart, on December 31, 1909. On pages eight and nine, will be found a summary of arrests made during the year. A few of them follow:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Assault and battery | 699 |
| Disorderly conduct | 480 |
| Drunk and disorderly | 408 |
| Larceny | 354 |
| Rioting | 66 |
| Vagrancy | 136 |
| Trespassing | 96 |
| Unlawful possession of fire arms..... | 81 |
| Robbery | 3 |
| Violation of election laws..... | 3 |
| Violation of forestry laws..... | 2 |
| Violation of game laws..... | 80 |
| Violation of health laws..... | 7 |
| Violation of school laws..... | 1 |
| Violation of automobile laws..... | 1 |

"All told, during the year, 3,799 arrests were made; 746 were discharged (for want of evidence, no doubt); 440 still awaiting trial.

"Notice the large number of arrests for drunk and disorderly conduct, assault and battery, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, trespassing, rioting and unlawful possession of fire arms. These are the charges usually lodged against those whom they are pleased to call the 'mob,' when a strike is on.

"Now just look over the column and see how many were arrested for real serious crimes—violating health laws; seven all told; isn't this a gallant record in a state which is honeycombed with unsanitary factories, mills, workshops, tenements, etc.? Three arrests were made for robbery, and two of these proved their innocence and were discharged. Surely our property is safe with these state watch dogs on the job. And for violating the automobile laws, which all of us know are constantly being violated in every corner of the state, Superintendent Groome informs us that his army of 220 men, during the entire year, have made ONE arrest for these thousands of automobile violations.

"That they are of any real service to the farmer I deny. The only time they patrol the rural districts is when the big capitalists do not need them to crush their overworked and underfed employes. To say that this legally organized band of strike-breakers is of service to the farmer is to insult our intelligence. Pennsylvania covers an area of over 45,000 square miles. No police officer can properly patrol more than three square miles; therefore, to give the farmer that which they try to make him believe he has (police protection) would require a force of 15,000 men. The payroll alone for this army would run over \$14,000,000 a year, not to say a word for equipment, horses, barracks, etc.

"The sole purpose of the State police is to serve that class

at whose solicitation they were created. No farmer asked that this department be created. Had the farmer asked for it, and were they only to be used for his protection, and not for strike duty, you know the farmers would have received no more consideration on this question than they have on other questions." ("The Constabulary of Pennsylvania," by C. A. Maurer.)

12. Three Great Labor Struggles of 1912-14.

(a) WEST VIRGINIA COAL MINERS' STRIKE.

West Virginia Under a Democratic President, a Progressive and a Republican Governor.

When in 1894 the great American Railway Union Strike broke out and the strikers were on the verge of victory, a Democratic President, Grover Cleveland, sent the federal army into Illinois to intimidate the strikers. His excuse was that the mails were being interfered with.

In West Virginia the constitutional rights of citizens were completely abrogated, first, by a Progressive, then by a Republican governor. Why did Wilson not interfere? The following is taken from an article by Allan L. Benson in the Metropolitan Magazine for June, 1913, and shows the horrible conditions which existed in West Virginia:

During the last eleven months of the Taft administration this great government, which can hear from so far when it wants to, gave no sign that it had received one word from West Virginia. And during the first two months of the Wilson administration nothing that anybody heard was sufficient to set the ether tingling with the stern order to restore constitutional government in West Virginia. The Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wilson, knew all the facts, and I can personally vouch for it that his blood boiled. But, unhappily, one gentleman of boiling blood is insufficient to make the blood of the government boil. At the time I saw Secretary Wilson it seemed likely that the government, sooner or later, would come across with a resolution of Congress or something of the sort. But there was no talk of discharging the duty imposed by the constitution to restore and maintain a republican form of government in West Virginia. There was talk only of a congressional investigation that would probably come, coroner-like, after the strike had worn itself out.

WAR UPON WOMEN.

The breaking out of the strike was speedily followed by extraordinary activity upon the part of the Baldwin guards. These gentlemen, armed to the teeth themselves, invaded the homes of strikers to search for firearms. When the wives of the miners objected, as they often did, to the ransacking of their houses, they were beaten up. They were not only beaten up—they were cursed and reviled. Hundreds of such assaults occurred. Perhaps one of the most shameful attacks was that made upon Mrs. Jenina Seville, who, under oath, told the following story to the investigating commission appointed by Governor Glasscock:

"My husband and I were going down to the store when he got arrested by the guards, who were going to take him away. I went close to the guards to tell them to let my husband alone. My husband had never hurt any one or done anything. When I went close and told them, they beat me up and threw me down on the track.

"About the fifth of June I was washing in the house early in the morning when the guards came to the house, broke in, punched me in the face and then went to turning things upside down in search for firearms. On the bed there was a little

baby, and they kicked me in the stomach and called me bad names. When they kicked me I fell to the floor, but they picked me up and asked me where were the keys to the trunk. I was pretty near fainted and I told them I did not know. I expected to have another baby in three months, but I never heard my baby call again after they kicked me in the stomach. A little later it was born dead."

This is not a rumor. It is testimony. Pages could be filled with such testimony. Read what Molly Fish, wife of a miner at Holley Grove, swore to:

"I was down at the Junction on July 17 to help my sister-in-law on the train with her baby. Several strikebreakers got off. I said: 'Boys, there is a strike on at Paint Creek, and you had better stay away from there and not take our work away from us.' One of the guards grabbed me by the throat and hit me with his fist. Somebody said: 'Watch out, that is a lady you are striking!' He said: 'God damn the lady; let her stay in her place.' He struck me several times."

As summer proceeded and it became apparent that the miners did not intend quickly to surrender, the mine owners gave orders for wholesale evictions from the company houses. The Baldwin guards were brought into play and women and children were driven out of their homes as if they had been so many cattle. Mercenaries armed with guns threw the furniture of householders into the roads, where many of the dispossessed slept for several nights before the United Mine Workers of America could provide them with tents in which to live. As a sample of what happened to many a woman, the case of Mrs. Isaiah Smith may be cited. At the time Mrs. Smith was put out of her home she had a baby three weeks old. Mrs. Smith and her young baby were compelled to sleep four nights beside a country road, and her affidavit to this effect is on file before the Glasscock commission.

Violence on the part of the mining companies made the mine owners fear violence upon the part of the miners. From the very first, the mine owners feared violence. Early in the struggle they caused their armed thugs to search the persons and houses of miners for firearms. Nor would this fear down. So Governor Glasscock, the great Progressive leader who became one of the "Seven Little Governors" to urge Mr. Roosevelt to stand for the Republican nomination for the Presidency—Governor Glasscock was persuaded to send troops into the district and put the Kanawha region under martial law. At first, the miners welcomed the troops as protection against the murderous guards. The troops justified expectations only to the extent of disarming the guards. To make the performance seem impartial, the troops also disarmed the miners. But the guards found means of arming themselves as frequently as they were disarmed. Somebody continued to furnish them with guns. Perhaps not all of the guards were furnished with more guns. All of the guards were a little more careful to keep their weapons under cover. But that many continued to be armed was shown by the wanton murders that occurred during the following winter.

The mine owners welcomed winter. They looked upon it as their strongest ally—stronger even than the state government. Winters in the West Virginia mountains are cold. Many hundreds of the 5,000 miners who went on strike in April were living in tents on the hillsides adjoining the companies' properties. The mine-owning expectation was that the bitter cold of winter would tend to drive the miners back to the mines.

But sole reliance was not to be placed upon the cold. Something could be done to help the cold. Strikebreakers could be

imported. Cold shivers could be sent through the strikers by marching in men to take their places.

Negotiations were opened with detective agencies in New York, Cleveland, Cincinnati and Chicago. One of the modern functions of a certain type of detective agency is to furnish strikebreakers when required. Never is this proceeding accompanied by high moral emotions on the part of the detective agencies. Always is there deception and fraud, and not infrequently "shanghaing" and slugging—"shanghaing" being a sailor term for kidnaping and enforced servitude. But in plain and fancy lying, together with a high quality of shanghaing, the detective agencies that furnished strikebreakers for the West Virginia mining companies perhaps exceeded all similar achievements. Men were told that they were wanted for work in California. Men were told that they were needed to build cities in West Virginia. Men were told that they were wanted to build railroads. Men were told almost everything except the truth. They were told they would be taken to and from their place of destination without expense to themselves. They were told that they would be paid wages of exceptional richness and fatness. Once snared, they were imprisoned in rooms near railway stations, marched under guard to the trains, locked in the cars, compelled to make trips requiring as many as thirty hours without eating, and at last dumped off at the mines in West Virginia and told to go to work. Some refused and were forced to go to work at the point of the pistol. Some worked a few days and demanded their wages, only to be told that they still owed the company the difference between their earnings and their railway fare. Some were driven out of the valleys, and compelled to walk to Charleston, while relays of armed guards dogged their heels to keep them walking. Some escaped in the night and were fired at by guards as they swam icy waters in December and January.

All of these statements have been made—most of them under oath. All of them are before me. If I had all of this magazine instead of but a part of it, I could give you all of these statements, together with the names of those who made them. But the important fact up to which I am leading is that by lying, shanghaing and flimflamming, the companies succeeded in bringing in perhaps 2,000 strikebreakers.

However, these 2,000 men were not worth much to the mine owner. They knew nothing about mining. They did not serve even to frighten the strikers into surrender. So an armored train was sent up the railroad one night to give the miners something to think about. With lights out, it crept along until it came to Holley Grove, where a number of miners and their families were living in tents. At what was believed to be the proper spot, fire was opened from the train with machine guns and rifles. The miners returned the fire. The newspapers the next morning said that sixteen miners had been killed. Nobody knows to this day how many were killed. Both miners and Baldwin guards never said much about their casualties.

MOTHER JONES ARRESTED.

Only six had gone back in Cabin Creek and none in Paint Creek. Something more must be done to weaken the miners. The next best thing seemed to be to arrest Mother Jones and a number of other agitators who had been traveling up and down the valleys urging the miners to stand pat. Unfortunately, Mother Jones, at the moment, was not in the strike district where martial law prevailed; else it would have been a simple matter to detail a soldier to capture the 80-year-old disturber. She was in Charleston, twenty miles away. So a complaint was sworn out against Mother Jones charging her with a great many

offenses. She was charged with being an accessory before certain murders that were said to have been committed the night that the armored train descended upon Holley Grove; charged with inciting to murder; charged with stealing a machine gun from the Paint Creek Collieries Company. And, while no warrant was issued upon the basis of the complaint, Mother Jones, together with John Brown, a Socialist agitator, Paul Paulsen and C. H. Boswell, editor of a Socialist newspaper in Charleston, were arrested.

That was not unprecedented. Labor leaders had been taken into custody upon trumped up charges before. It is one of the modern methods of ending a strike. What was unprecedented was that the prisoners were taken into the district in which martial law prevailed and thrown into a military prison to be tried by drumhead court-martial.

Senator Borah, Member of Senatorial Committee, Admits That Constitutional Rights of Workingmen Were Violated.

When the strike in West Virginia had well nigh worn itself out, the Senate of the United States ordered an investigation of conditions prevailing in West Virginia. The charges of the miners were substantiated in every detail. Senator Borah of Idaho, a member of the Senatorial Committee that conducted the investigation, reported to the Senate as follows:

After briefly reviewing the incidents of the establishment of martial law and its maintenance in the Cabin Creek and Paint Creek districts for nearly a year, Senator Borah's statement sets forth:

"That during the reign of martial law a number of individuals were arrested, tried, convicted, sentenced, and punished for offenses alleged to have been committed by them.

"That those parties were arrested upon orders issued by the military authorities, and not by virtue of any warrant issued by the civil authorities or from the established courts of the state, and were put upon their trial without the finding of any indictment by the grand jury, before a court-martial created by the order of the commander in chief and composed of individuals selected by him.

ACCUSED NOT GIVEN JURY TRIAL.

"That the charges made against these parties thus put upon their trial were in the nature of specifications drawn up and presented by the military authorities and upon these they were put upon their trial before said court martial without a jury.

"That in the trial of these parties and in the assessing of punishments the court before which they were tried deemed itself bound alone by the orders of the commander in chief, the governor of the state, and in no respect bound to observe the Constitution of the United States, or the Constitution or the statutes of the state of West Virginia relative to the trial and punishment of parties charged with crime.

"That they acted under the claim that all the provisions of the constitutions, both state and national, and the statutes of the state relative to such matters, were suspended and for the time inoperative by reason of the existence of martial law.

"That at the time these arrests were made and the trials and convictions had the civil courts were open, holding their terms as usual, disposing of cases and dispensing justice in the usual and ordinary manner.

VIOLATION OF AUTHORITY CHARGED.

"That in some instances arrests were made outside the military zone and at a time when martial law did not prevail, and when such arrests were made the parties were turned over by

the civil authorities to the military authorities for detention, trial and punishment.

"That in rendering judgment and assessing punishment the parties were punished by terms of imprisonment unknown to the statutes in excess of the punishment provided for such offenses under the laws of the state.

"That a number of these parties were sent to jail and many to the state penitentiary under sentence from this court-martial as approved by the governor.

"That no threats of violence or use of force were made or had against the judges or the courts at any time during the existence of the disturbance or the reign of martial law.

NO INTIMIDATION OF JUSTICE.

"That great feeling and interest doubtless prevailed generally throughout the county, but the existence of this feeling and its effect upon the grand and petit juries were not tested by the calling of a grand jury or the submitting of the charges against these persons to a grand jury, and no attempt was made to try them before a petit jury.

"The officers of the county, after the declaration of martial law, proceeded upon the assumption that the feeling and prejudice were so strong as to prevent the operation of the civil authorities, together with a further belief that the declaration of martial law had the effect of suspending and nullifying all constitutional and statutory rights of the accused."—(From the Sub-Committee Report of United States Senator Borah.)

(b) MICHIGAN COPPER MINERS' STRIKE.

(Report of the Socialist Investigating Committee on the Calumet Strike.)

This was a strike of all the miners, about 13,000 in number, in practically all the mines of the district, beginning July 23, 1913.

The demands of the men were as follows:

An eight-hour day.

A minimum wage of \$3 a day for men in the mines.

An increase of 35 cents a day for those that worked above ground.

Two men to be employed on each drill.

Recognition of the Western Federation of Miners.

Organization under the Western Federation of Miners had been effected in 1910, about 90 per cent of the men being members. Grievances as above outlined were presented to the management of the mines on July 6 by the local organization of the Federation. No reply of any kind was made to this presentation. The management of one mine, the Quincy, added to this discourtesy what might be thought the gratuitous insult of returning unopened the letter of the organization. Seven days had been allowed for an answer to the communication on behalf of the men. When these had elapsed and no reply had been received, the matter was laid before the members in the shape of a referendum vote on the question of ordering a strike. It resulted in more than 7,000 votes in favor of a strike and only 126 votes against it. When this vote had been counted and declared a meeting was called on July 22, and the strike was ordered for the next day. The men left the mines without order.

It should be remarked that copper mining, as carried on in the district, requires skill, experience and great physical strength and seems to be attended with easily preventable dangers. In some respects the methods in use appear to be archaic and to work unnecessary hardship upon the men. For instance, the

ore is removed in small cars from the end of the tunnel to the shaft, but neither electricity nor mules are used, men pushing the cars along the rails, often with great difficulty. Again, the temperature in some of the mines is very high, exceeding 100 degrees, and no adequate means seem to be employed to relieve this condition. The men were worked ten and eleven hours a day. The custom was to work each drill with only one man on it, a practice exceedingly dangerous and arduous. By the method of contract work men frequently worked a month for very little return and occasionally for almost nothing. These facts alone would seem to indicate that working conditions stood in need of revision.

As soon as the strike was declared, the mining companies called upon the governor of Michigan for troops, although there had been no disturbance. It is alleged that special trains for the transportation of the troops had been prepared before the actual request was received. The governor immediately called out the entire militia of the state, which arrived in the district as rapidly as it could be transported thither. Many of the soldiers were quartered in a large armory belonging to the Calumet & Hecla Mining Company, and apparently erected for such emergencies. We understand that the state pays rent for the use of this armory.

The mining companies had also made arrangements with large detective agencies, such as Ascher agency in New York and the Waddell-Mahon agency, to supply armed guards. Several hundred of these came from distant points, many being recruited in New York City. They appeared in the district heavily armed. Other guards were enlisted in the vicinity, until about 1,600 were employed. These the sheriff of the county swore in as deputies.

Up to this time no disorder of any kind had appeared. A majority of the miners are Finns, well known to be of a quiet and orderly disposition. Others were Croatians, Italians and English.

It appears from the many affidavits we have examined and the testimony we have heard that the armed guards and the militiamen from the beginning manifested an overbearing, arrogant and exasperating attitude. They were employed not only in surrounding the mines and preventing the approach of strikers, but likewise occupied the highways and in scores of instances, as appears from sworn testimony, they assaulted and beat men that were peaceably walking in public roads. So far as the testimony and the affidavits have revealed, all of these assaults were unprovoked except that in a few instances strikers or other persons had been heard to call out "Scabs!" on the appearance of the guards or of the men hired to take the strikers' places. We shall deal with some of these assaults hereafter. One species of annoyance to which the strikers were almost daily subjected was attack upon their processions. Whenever one of these appeared the guards or the militiamen, or both, mounted and on foot, would attempt to break it up and disperse it, sometimes riding their horses through it, and sometimes pursuing the paraders to the sidewalks, and even into their houses. On at least two occasions soldiers wearing the uniform of the National Guard tore down the American flag in the hands of paraders and trampled upon it. So far as we have been able to learn these attacks also were unprovoked by any action on the part of the strikers and seem to have created much of the resentment the strikers felt. Much graver accusations, and some of a shocking character are made against the behavior of the militia. These seem to have gone without adequate investigation by the military authorities of the state, although they

cast most serious imputations upon the discipline and condition of the National Guard of Michigan.

The guards made many arrests, for the most part on charges that could not be sustained, with the result that the jails were soon overflowing with men under arrest whose entire innocence of any offending was apparent as soon as there was hearing. So common did this practice become that the public prosecutor was moved to protest against it.

Many affidavits made by the armed guards after they had ceased to be employed in the district declare that the irritating conduct of the guards, at least, was by the direct instruction of their superiors. The affidavits agree in this, and report many orders that would seem to be calculated deliberately to insure disorder. The practice of breaking up parades, for instance, seems to have been planned with the expectation that the strikers would be goaded thereby into some overt act. Some of the orders reported in these affidavits, if they meant anything at all, could only mean that retaliation from the strikers was desired, and the business of the guards was to arouse it.

After the strike had been in progress a few weeks, officers of the Western Federation of Miners from outside the district were sent to take charge of it, among them eventually the federation's president, Charles H. Moyer. The assertion has been made frequently that the federation instigated the strike and led it from its inception. This we find to be without foundation in fact. The strike originated strictly within the local organization and was at first conducted by the local officers on their own sole responsibility.

So great and important was the part played in this strike by the business men in the community that we feel called upon to speak in some detail of this phase of the record. At first the business men in general were disposed to view the strikers with toleration and even with some sympathy. But the problem of feeding so many strikers and their families was extremely difficult, the demands upon relief funds of the federation were heavy, and a large sum of money was weekly withdrawn from the treasury for this purpose. To ease the burden somewhat the federation management adopted the plan of establishing commissary stores on a plan like that of co-operative enterprises. Great quantities of provisions and groceries were bought at wholesale, transported in car load lots and placed in stores the federation had rented, and from these strikers obtained their supplies on coupons issued by the relief committee.

These stores began at once to do a very large business, estimated at present at about \$37,000 a week. The loss of so great a volume of trade was instantly and acutely felt by the local merchants. It gave to the strike a very different aspect in their eyes. Almost at once, their bitter complaints began to be heard. It seems to be quite true that, in many minds, the cause of the strikers ceased to be reasonable or tolerable as soon as it produced this marked change in trade conditions. Certain business interests were necessarily allied with the companies and these took the lead in voicing a protest against the longer continuation of the strike. Certain elements of racial prejudice are not to be ignored in these situations. The strikers were interfering with business, they were largely foreigners who spoke a different tongue and in a short time they became, to a part of the business community, the objects of an extraordinary and violent hatred that in a sobering way recalls the situation of the negroes in the South.

The growing bitterness of the business element manifested itself in public meetings and in the formation of a body known as the Citizens' Alliance. Inasmuch as this association has been

widely believed to have been organized to preserve order and uphold the law, violated by the strikers, it is well to record here the indubitable fact that it had no such basis but was formed for the reasons indicated. The law had been violated for many weeks and in many ways by the armed guards, by the militia and by the mining companies and many scenes of disorder had been caused by the same agencies without any protest from the persons that formed the Citizens' Alliance.

The alliance soon became an active force to assist the armed domination of the district. It was felt that business would not be restored until the strike was settled and the only way to settle it was that the foreigners and the Western Federation of Miners, which were causing all the trouble, should be defeated and the strikers forced to return to their work. A large white button with red letters was designed for members of the alliance, all of whom were exhorted to wear the emblem in plain sight at all times as a declaration of faith. Men wearing these buttons became conspicuous in the assaults that the guards made and the riots that the guards precipitated. On one occasion, for instance, the alliance held a largely attended meeting at Houghton. At the close the proposal was made that the federation's headquarters at the neighboring town of South Range should be visited. It is alleged that the local commandant of the militia opened the armory and allowed the members of the alliance to arm themselves. At least it is certain that the crowd of alliance men that presently boarded a special train for South Range was armed with rifles. Arrived at South Range the mob broke into the office of the federation branch, smashed the furniture, broke open the desks, carried away all the papers, and destroyed many books of coupons. The hour was after midnight and there was no one at the office to offer resistance. The secretary of the branch lived over the office. It seems probable that he had rendered himself obnoxious to the armed guards because earlier in the night he had admitted to his rooms two strikers that were running for their lives from drunken guards they had met in the highway.

The mob, having wrecked the office below, now proceeded upstairs to seize the secretary. He begged them to go away, as he was nursing a sick wife and a sick infant. The mob retired, but soon returned in larger numbers and broke in the door of the secretary's rooms. After repeated warnings to them to desist he fired two shots, one of which entered the stomach of one of the rioters. The mob then descended the stairs but seemed to have fired several shots from the street at the house, thereafter dispersing. At 7 o'clock in the morning the secretary was arrested and is now on \$7,000 bail on the charge of attempt to commit murder. The wounded man recovered.

This event was widely telegraphed about the country as a fierce battle between strikers barricaded in the hall and deputies sent to arrest them. It offers a fair example of the false reports with which the country has been deluged from this district since the strike began.

We may cite here another from many possible illustrations of the savagery and reckless disregard of life that have terrorized the region ever since the armed guards were loosed upon it. Each mine is surrounded by a village of miners and each village has been under a practical despotism to be likened only to that of a feudal barony in the early part of the middle ages. One of these villages is Seeberville, near Painesdale, a station on the Copper Range Railroad and about eight miles from Houghton. At Seeberville, Joseph Putrich, a Croatian, kept a boarding house for miners. On August 14, between 5 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon, two of these boarders returned

from a visit to South Range and alighted from the train at Painesdale station. To avoid a long detour the people of Seeberville have been accustomed to use a short path by the railroad track to the main road. These two men started to walk down this path. A mine guard ordered them not to use the path as it was on the mine company's property. Knowing no reason why they should not walk where they had always walked they continued on the path and went home. About an hour later they were playing a kind of ten pin game in the yard of Putrich's house when six armed guards and a trainman boss from the mine appeared at the fence, and shouted at them. The two men were badly frightened, ran into the house, which was full of boarders. The guards surrounded the house and without parley or words fired into the doors and open windows. Two of the boarders were killed and two were badly wounded. Mrs. Putrich was in the living room and narrowly escaped injury, a bullet grazing the head of the infant in her arms. More than 30 shots were fired upon these defenseless persons, the guards firing until their revolvers were emptied. The two men that had walked on the forbidden path were not hurt. This wanton slaughter was termed "a battle with strikers." It is of a piece with others that bore the same designation. Subsequently, four of the guards concerned in the shooting were arrested and released on bail. The sheriff of the county has since admitted the fact, otherwise incredible, that these men, still carrying arms, are still employed by him as deputies. We do not know how it would be possible to draw a stronger indictment of the kind of government that has been inflicted on the people of this region since the strike began.

The bitter feeling of the 'Citizens' Alliance was greatly intensified after the terrible disaster of Christmas eve at the Italian hall in Calumet when a cry of "Fire!" caused a panic in a crowded assembly and 72 persons, a majority of them children, were crushed to death on the stairs. The wealthy citizens of the neighborhood raised a relief fund of about \$25,000 for the benefit of the afflicted families, but these uniformly refused to accept the charity. In any community where normal conditions prevailed this refusal could not have angered anyone, since surely it is within every man's province to decline charity if he so wills. But in this instance the donors were stirred to extraordinary resentment by the rejection of their gifts, for which rejection the officers of the Western Federation of Miners were blamed. We have investigated this matter and can find no just reason for this blame. It was the unanimous and spontaneous desire of the families that had suffered in the panic to accept no charity from the sources that offered it in this instance and we much doubt if the officers of the federation could have changed this feeling if they had tried.

The resentment of the Citizens' Alliance and of the subscribers to the \$25,000 fund was increased by the statements of some witnesses that the man that shouted "Fire" that day at Italian hall wore a Citizens' Alliance button. Even if this were the fact, it would, of course, reflect no responsibility upon the alliance and possibly none upon the man that wore the button. These buttons were worn by a great many persons in and about Calumet. All the armed guards wore them and many of these were desperate and lawless persons, recruited in the slums of cities. In Calumet they were very often drunk and almost always quarrelsome and reckless. It was part of their employment to break up gatherings of strikers; they did such things frequently. The day was one on which dissolute men are accustomed to drink freely. If one such man in an inebriated state should take it into his muddled mind to disturb a strikers' assembly by shouting "Fire!" at the door, the fact would not

be wonderful under the existing circumstances. This explanation would seem far more reasonable than that a panic should start otherwise in a place where there was no fire, no sign of fire, and from the solid construction of the building (which was new), and the most careful arrangements of those in charge, no chance of fire.

Even if this theory be correct, no just man would hold the Citizens' Alliance as responsible for the accident, but the members of the Alliance seemed to be exasperated by the mere statements about the button and its wearer. The animosity thus engendered culminated on the night of December 26 in the mobbing, shooting and deportation of President Moyer. We have carefully investigated this event, of which it is difficult to speak with the restraint and moderation that we feel is incumbent upon us in reporting on these grave matters. No shadow of doubt is left in our minds that Mr. Moyer's account of the outrage is exactly true, except in the particular that he much understated its brutality and savage cruelty, a fact understandable from his weakened condition after the treatment he received. It is beyond question that a mob in which were many citizens of Hancock and vicinity deemed to be extremely respectable entered Mr. Moyer's room, seized him, beat him, shot him in the back, hustled him through the streets and across the bridge to the railroad station, beating him and savagely kicking him while he was pinioned and defenseless. Finally he was thrust upon a railroad train and carried under an armed guard out of the state, being threatened with instant death if he returned. His companion, Charles H. Tanner, auditor of the Western Federation, received almost equally inhuman treatment and was deported with him.

This astounding outbreak of the lynching spirit in Michigan is a foul blot upon the state. How far the Citizens' Alliance is concerned with law and order may be judged from the fact that for an outrage so monstrous and disgraceful it has never expressed the least concern, and many of its members, if they were not participants in the mob, have since been quoted in approval of the mob's vile work. And we cannot avoid here the duty of condemning in the strongest terms the newspapers that have tried to excuse or palliate the mob's acts, and the correspondents and news agencies that sought in subtle and adroit ways to discredit Mr. Moyer's absolutely terrific story. If such agencies for the poisoning of news and the perverting of public opinion are to go unrebuked, we may well and seriously question whether we do not live in a condition of practical anarchy, and whether any man that advocates any cause distasteful to the powerful has any rights, or any chance of protection under the laws.

As to the perversion of news, that, from the first, has attended this strike, we have already said, with examples. In addition, we have space to dwell here on only the one subject of reports of violence by strikers. These have been spread broadcast over the country, and have created in the public mind a totally false idea of conditions. We have investigated a great many of these allegations, and have found that the actual manifestations of a spirit of violence among the strikers have been very few and unimportant. On one occasion, passengers attempting to board a train found themselves pushed off the steps by armed guards, and discovered that the car was filled with strike breakers. Whereupon a shower of stones broke all the windows on one side of the car. A woman beat a strike breaker in the face with a broom. Some strike breakers have been hooted and jeered. This constitutes about all the veritable outbreaks of violence on the part of the strikers. We have looked into the stories of dynamite explosions and dynamite plots and find

that without exception they have the plainest evidences of such "plants" as were made in the Lawrence strike, and that it is ridiculous to believe the strikers had anything to do with the "plots." In one other case the charge remains undetermined. A guard, without provocation, shot and killed a striker. The next day some unknown person killed the guard. There is an assumption in this case, but no evidence. Many cases we have found in which armed guards, usually drunk, were the cowardly aggressors, attacking unarmed and unoffending men, women and even children. In spite of these provocations, the patience and self-control of the strikers has been remarkable and deserves the attention of the country. Throughout the troubles, the strikers seem to have manifested an almost singular forbearance. All of your committee are familiar with strikes. Not one of us can recall another strike of this size and lasting as long that has been equally free from overt acts by strikers, and few in which the provocations to resentment have been so great.

But while the strikers have been in the main law-abiding, we must observe that the mine companies have been astonishingly reckless of many laws. Putting aside now the bloody deeds of their armed guards and agents, we instance only the federal statutes against peonage, which these companies have broken innumerable times and with impunity by bringing men from New York. The affidavits of scores of the victims of the peonage practices leave no doubt of this fact, and we call for federal action against these law-breakers. Four hundred penniless miners have been arrested, chiefly on baseless charges. We are not yet ready to believe that for the wealthy and powerful that trample upon our laws there is no punishment, but if these glaring offenses by the companies go unpunished, we must admit that the presumption of the immunity of the rich will be enormously strengthened.

We believe that all of the demands of the strikers were just and reasonable. Beyond a doubt they should have been granted. Probably no other employing companies in this country could so easily afford to concede such moderate requests. Among these companies, and appearing as the holding company for most of the others, is the Great Calumet and Hecla, which has made a larger annual profit on a smaller investment and for a larger period than any other similar enterprise in the United States and possibly in the world. Fabulous fortunes have been built from its great profits. Its wealth may be gauged from the following facts taken from the sworn statements of the president of the company, also published in Copper Hand Book about it.

It has a capital stock of \$2,500,000, of which less than half, or only \$12 of each \$25 share has ever been paid in. That is to say, the cash actually invested in it has been \$1,200,000. On this investment has been paid, to and including 1912, dividends to the amount of \$112,500,000, or \$1,125 a share, or about \$100 of profits for every dollar of investment. The actual report, February 27, 1913, gave the value of each share as \$540, \$12 having been paid for it. The dividends in the last few years have been as follows:

| | Per cent. | | Per cent. |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1897..... | 160 | 1905..... | 200 |
| 1898..... | 200 | 1906..... | 280 |
| 1899..... | 400 | 1907..... | 260 |
| 1900..... | 280 | 1908..... | 80 |
| 1901..... | 180 | 1909..... | 109 |
| 1902..... | 100 | 1910..... | 116 |
| 1903..... | 140 | 1911..... | 96 |
| 1904..... | 160 | 1912..... | 72 |

Besides these great profits, the salaries paid to officers and directors seem beyond all reason. The president of the company receives \$100,000 a year. Mr. McNaughton in his capacities as vice-president, general manager and director, receives \$85,000 a year, the secretary and treasurer and each director draws \$20,000 a year.

In recent years the company has bought out of its surplus profits, and by issuing securities, a controlling interest in seventeen other mining companies, and now in addition to its huge dividends earns the interest on \$8,519,000 of notes that it issued to aid in making these purchases.

To a company earning such enormous profits, such demands from its employes as were made in this instance were the veriest trifles. That such companies should contemptuously refuse to so much as treat with their employes seems to us one of the most remarkable instances we have ever encountered of the arrogance of wealth, as the companies' method of combatting this strike affords one of the most alarming instances of wealth's lawlessness.

We find the following conclusions:

1. That the strike that has caused such a loss of life and such great losses of money to the people of Michigan and the United States was entirely unnecessary and due wholly to the unreasonable and overbearing attitude of the mining companies.

2. That the employment of militia was entirely unnecessary, worked infinite harm and did no good, while the use of private guards to supersede, with their rifles and drunken whims, the constituted authorities, has been most clearly demonstrated to be a great, perilous and intolerable evil.

We feel that we ought to add our conviction that it was within the power of the governor of Michigan to end this lamentable conflict, if he had earnestly sought to do so. At the time of our visit, nothing was needed to secure the return of the men to the mines but the recognition of the miners' union. A demand so moderate, so reasonable, and so much to the advantage of the community, could hardly have been resisted, if the governor had seen fit to add to it his approval. We profoundly regret that he did not take advantage of so great an opportunity to serve his times, further the cause of justice, and advance the condition of the working class.

VICTOR L. BERGER,
SEYMOUR STEDMAN,
CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL,

Committee.

Socialists Demand Justice for Michigan Strikers.

TELEGRAM.

January 13, 1914.

Hon. Woodrow Wilson, President U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist party commissioned Victor L. Berger, Charles Edward Russell and Seymour Stedman to investigate the Michigan strike. They report claims of men just. Also report companies guilty of peonage and importation of sixteen hundred gunmen from outside. Leaders of miners maltreated and deported. General reign of terror on part of gunmen; the strikers firm and law-abiding.

On basis of above report, and on behalf of Socialist party, we demand congressional investigation of situation.

VICTOR L. BERGER,
GEO. H. GOEBEL,
ADOLPH GERMER,
JAMES H. MAURER,
J. STITT WILSON,
Executive Committee.

(c) COLORADO COAL MINERS' STRIKE.

The State of Colorado has a democratic governor and a democratic legislature. If the professions of the democratic politicians are to be believed, it ought to be a state where the rights of the workingmen are strictly protected, "special privilege" is curbed and justice is rigidly enforced. Sometime ago the miners in the state of Colorado struck in order to gain certain concessions from the coal companies, principal of which is the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company of which John D. Rockefeller Jr. is the dominant figure.

The Miners' Demands.

Professor Seligman, professor of political economy at Columbia, thus sets forth the situation in an article in his "Annalist" article (quoted from "The Literary Digest," May 16, 1914):

"The demands of the miners which led to the strike were seven in number:

- "1. The eight-hour day.
- "2. Pay for narrow and dead work.
- "3. A check weighman without interference of company officials.
- "4. The right to trade in any store they pleased.
- "5. The abolition of the criminal guard system.
- "6. Ten per cent advance in wages.
- "7. Recognition of the union.

"Of these seven demands five are guaranteed under severe penalty by the laws of the State of Colorado. . . . Is it not a remarkable commentary on the state of American civilization that individuals should be compelled to resort to a strike in order to enforce a series of laws which it is the obligation of the employers to obey and of the State to enforce? That these laws were habitually and persistently disregarded is claimed by the unions and is virtually substantiated by official statements in the reports of the factory inspectors in Colorado. . . .

"It is claimed by the operators that this is a fight against the closed shop, whereas in reality it is a fight against the recognition of the union. The two things are by no means the same. The closed shop means that none but union men may be employed; the recognition of the union means that the employers should consent to discuss matters of common interest with the representatives of the union. . . . Experience has shown that the individual 'free' laborer ordinarily stands but slight chance of redress, and that progress has come only through the substitution of collective bargaining."

Conduct of the Militia.

Immediately after the calling of the strike, the mine owners employed a private army of thugs and gunmen to harrass the miners, while Governor Ammons, the democratic governor of Colorado, called out the militia.

From the very beginning the conduct of the militia, recruited, in many cases, from the ranks of the mine owners' employes, was lawless beyond belief, and partisan to the mine owners in every particular. A committee appointed at the suggestion of the governor to investigate the conduct of the Colorado National Guard reported among other things as follows: (From Report of the Committee Appointed at the Suggestion of the Governor of Colorado to Investigate the Conduct of the Colorado National Guard During the Coal Strike of 1913-1914.)

When citizens have protested to General Chase concerning the immoral conduct of the militia, his answer has been to

call such accusations lies, and loftily to refer to such stories as "besmirching the soldier's uniform." Robberies and holdups and militiamen he disposes of in the same way; but the instances of this sort of valorous conduct are far too numerous, too varied in circumstances and scattered over too wide a territory to be so simply gotten rid of. They range from a forced loan of twenty-five cents; or whiskey "for the captain"; or a compulsory gift of three dollars; or whiskey, gin, cigars and champagne; or a ton of coal, to the downright robbery of \$300, and other considerable sums of money, with watches and other small pieces of property.

Striking miners are not alone the victims of false arrest and imprisonment. A merchant, of twenty-five years' standing, was arrested in his own doorway, because he would not "get off the street" when ordered to do so by a trooper who was driving before his horse women and children on the sidewalk of the principal street of Trinidad on a crowded Saturday evening. A railroad man was arrested while performing his duty, and jailed over night, other railroad men—a train crew—were arrested Christmas morning. The railroad companies' rule and the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission are alike of no importance to the militia. They will "tear up the tracks" or "take an engine" by force if it suits them to do so. These cases well illustrate puerilities of these untrained officers of the militia; but, as one of the militiamen is reported to have said, "We have to do something to scare the people. One man was arrested because he would not trust a militiaman for a pint of whiskey, another apparently because he gave some very superior whiskey to a militiaman, for which he was taken from Segundo to Trinidad and kept two days in jail. Another peaceable American citizen was arrested on the pretense that he was a burglar. General Chase himself threatened the arrest of the deputy district attorneys; hence it is not surprising that minor military officers have interfered with the duties of other civil officers, and have disarmed a deputy sheriff and a constable who were not mine guards.

TRYING TO "PERSUADE" STRIKERS TO RETURN TO WORK.

The militia have tried to persuade strikers to go back to work, in some instance threatening and abusing them at the same time; a major offers to release an arrested union man if he will work in the mine; mine guards have given orders to militiamen as to the arrest and release of strikers, just as the coal company's attorney appears to have advised Chase and Boughton, and a mine superintendent to have given orders to militiamen as to who should travel a public road, or whether a military pass should be cancelled; militiamen were present when a Polish ex-soldier, arriving as a strike-breaker, was offered by a mine superintendent a deputy's star, a six-shooter and a rifle—"an easy job and good pay"—provided he could shoot.

The military authorities, while professing intense fairness, have allowed the coal operators to import strike-breakers, in direct violation of the state law passed in 1911 forbidding the importation of laborers into this state by means of false representation or false advertisement. It is a proven fact that the majority of workmen enticed into the mines since the inauguration of this strike have been deceived as to the existence of a strike, or rate of pay, or both. In spite of this open and flagrant violation of the plain letter and spirit of the statute, the militia have met the trains bearing these deceived workmen, barring from the vicinity of the depots all persons who might inform these poor dupes of their rights under the law, and have

escorted them to the coal dumps, co-operating with the coal company guards in keeping them there whether they wished to leave or not.

CONDUCT OF LIEUTENANT LINDERFELT.

On December 31 we called your attention to the following telegram from Trinidad, to a specific instance of Lieutenant Linderfelt's cruelty which had come under our immediate notice:

"We did not expect to report to you until we had completed the taking of testimony at all camps, but in our judgment the following serious matters should be reported to you at once: Lieut. E. K. Linderfelt, of the cavalry stationed at Berwind, last night at Ludlow brutally assaulted an inoffensive boy in the public railroad station, using the vilest language at the same time. He also assaulted and tried to provoke to violence Louis Tikas, head man of the Ludlow strikers' colony, and arrested him unjustifiably. Today in the presence of one of our number he grossly abused a young man in no way connected with the strike, saying, among other things, 'I am Jesus Christ, and my men on horses are Jesus Christs, and we must be obeyed;' also making threats against the strikers in foulest language. He rages violently upon little or no provocation, and is wholly an unfit man to bear arms and command men, as he has no control over himself. We have reason to believe that it is his deliberate purpose to provoke the strikers to bloodshed. In the interest of peace and justice, we ask immediate action in his case." Signed by all the committee.

Insults to Women.

To the foregoing instances of the militiamen's cruelties to men (which are a part only of what the testimony shows), must be added their insults and indignities to women—a few only of which have been mentioned. A young Slavic widow of nineteen, soon to become a mother, is dragged through an alley at night—a militiamen's hand over her mouth to smother her screams—till at length she faints and falls unconscious. Eight or ten men seized her and a woman with her as they were getting coal in the alley, and they were thus seized and dragged because these militiamen heard a shot in the neighborhood. Since it is a pastime of the militia to shoot their guns as playthings and discharge them indiscriminately, this incident would be ludicrous were it not so pathetically tragic. Unprotected women have been roused from sleep by militiamen attempting to enter their homes at night. Young girls have been grossly insulted by militiamen on the public street, and their protesting father laughed at. A modest young wife has her baby taken from her while she is threatened with grossest abuse by the militiamen. Restaurant waitresses are so insulted by militiamen that they will not wait upon them. The arrest of Mrs. Germer by Major Townsend personally furnishes a striking illustration of the despicable methods employed to humiliate and intimidate respectable women.

The Ludlow Tragedy.

All protestations made to democratic governor Elias M. Ammons were in vain. A scathing report submitted by the Policy Committee of the special convention of the State Federation of Labor also remains unheeded.

The situation in Colorado finally culminated in "the Ludlow Tragedy" which will forever remain one of the blackest spots on the record of capitalism and of the Democratic party. The details of this tragedy are so horrifying and unbelievable

that we have purposely quoted only non-socialist authorities in corroboration of the facts.

(From The Literary Digest, May 16, 1914.)

A clear story of the Ludlow doings has been written for the New York World by Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, Colorado's woman State Senator. She tells it "after a careful study of the battle-field and the surrounding heights and arroyos," and "after sifting the recitals of representatives, both of turbulent capital and turbulent labor." She notes that the mine officials and their partisans refer to the strikers as the "ignorant off-scourings of Europe and Asia," but she says they "evade the fact that these same 'yaps' were originally brought to Colorado by the mine owners as strike-breakers, to displace Americans, Welshmen and Scotchmen." On one side of the conflict, according to Mrs. Robinson, were the embittered strikers, and on the other "three or four militia officers, several other men who had a right to wear the uniform of the Colorado militia, and a mob of gunmen, mine guards, plug-uglies, penitentiary sweepings." As Mrs. Robinson's story goes, taunts were exchanged between some strikers and militiamen the day before the Ludlow fight. A guard said something about "our big roast tomorrow." On that morrow Louis Tikas, a leader among the strikers, was sent by the militia commander at Ludlow.

While Tikas was in conference with Major Hancock, men in uniform were seen on Cedar Hill pointing a machine gun at the strikers' tents.

"Those strikers had for days been hearing reports that they were to be 'cleaned out.' . . . It had been agreed that no shot should ever be fired from the tents, defenseless on the low-lying prairies. The men were to draw the soldiers away from the tents, leaving them as sanctuaries for the women and children.

"As the strikers were rushing to the arroyo, three signal bombs were exploded in the militia camp. What they signified no one may ever know. . . . Tikas [later killed in the militia camp] broke from the station, waving his arms for the men to return. At that moment the firing began.

"Quite possibly it came first from the strikers in the arroyo. Then the machine gun began to rake the tents and arroyo. Bullets ripped through the tent walls. Men and women dodged and crawled from the colony, seeking safety in the Black Hills. Fifty women took shelter in the big railroad pump-house, with the levels below the earth. Other women and children sought the pits beneath the tents dug for such an emergency. At least eleven women and children found in those pits their graves.

"A fire from the strikers in the arroyo answered the fire of gunmen. There would be occasional lulls on both sides. Then the splutter of the machine gun would begin again. . . .

"At about 5:30 there was another lull in the firing. Major Hamrock, standing near the machine gun on Cedar Hills, opened his watch, closed it with a snap, and said to Captain Carson, standing beside him:

"'We've got just forty minutes to burn those tents out.'

"At six o'clock the tents flamed, while instantaneously from four different points the gunmen's fire was directed against the colony."

Later, a coroner's jury sitting in Trinidad brought in a verdict that the women and children who perished at Ludlow "came to their deaths by asphyxiation or fire or both caused by the burning of the tents of the Ludlow tent colony, and the fire on the tents was started by militiamen under Major Hamrock and Lieutenant Linderfelt or mine guards or both on the twentieth day of April, 1914." The Women's Peace League

Committee has made investigations and charges these officers and their men with responsibility for the Ludlow battle.

(From The Literary Digest, May 9, 1914.)

A physician for the miners' union and another witness testified that militiamen fired directly at a ranch-house in which women were sheltered. The doctor said that the fire began in the evening, died out, and "was renewed an hour and a half or two hours later by fire which seemed to break out in many places at once. The flames could not have leapt from tent to tent in the creation of this blaze; the distances between were too great." The next morning, when a few of the tents were left standing, the two witnesses "saw troops enter the colony with oil, and after saturating the tents which remained upright, ignite them." The Denver Rocky Mountain News prints half a dozen affidavits of men who saw the militia train their rifles and machine guns on the tents at Ludlow, and shoot at "anything they saw move, even a dog." According to these accounts, "not a shot was fired by any one from the tent colony, or near the tents;" "the few men who had guns went away to other places, and there was no excuse to shoot into the tents." These accounts are credited by the editors of such Colorado dailies as the Denver Express, Times, Rocky Mountain News, and Colorado Springs Gazette.

(From The Literary Digest, May 9, 1914.)

On the floor of the House of Representatives, Congressman Keating, of Colorado, declared one day last week that the domination of the Rockefellers in the strike district had "made it practically impossible to enforce laws and protect human life." He called the attention of Congress to the fact that the very grand jury which last fall indicted leaders of the miners' union for violation of the Sherman Law reported that State laws have not been properly enforced; that coal companies have controlled county officers; that many camp-marshals have exercised arbitrary powers and have "brutally assaulted miners," who "can not complain of real grievances without being discharged." Also, that "the scrip system is still in effect, and miners feel under an unjust obligation to trade at the company's stores because of the attitude of mine superintendents in denying the miners check weighmen to see that the miners got full credit for the coal sent out of the shafts."

Judge Ben Lindsey of Denver, Colorado, in an interview given in Chicago on May 19th to a representative of the United Press is quoted as follows:

"The true story of what took place is too horrible to print. We can only suggest it and fill in the outlines with the direct testimony of these women who suffered. As one instance of what took place, a father went to the militia camp for his little boy, who was missing. He was saluted with the child's corpse. The head had been shot off and the body half burned. A soldier threw it to him over the tent, and said: 'Here, take the — thing.'

"Mothers who went to the rescue of their babes were shot down and brutally mutilated. Children only a few years old were killed.

"The handiwork of barbarism in the most unholy days of Goth could not have been more cruel than what took place at Ludlow."

National Committee of the Socialist Party Passes Ringing Resolutions in Condemnation of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the Colorado Authorities.

Resolutions Committee submitted the following revised resolution on Colorado, which was adopted as read: "The National Committee of the Socialist party, in session at Chicago, repre-

senting one million Socialist voters, in common with millions of other citizens, view with horror the recent murder of miners, their wives and children in Colorado, as well as other outrages committed by hired assassins of the mine owners, thrown into ghastly relief by the funeral pyre at Ludlow.

"The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, together with the associated mining companies, have established an industrial feudalism of tremendous proportions. Possessing the land and all manner of property, the mining companies have added to these control of the governor, legislators, courts, mayors, sheriffs and other public officials, who are frequently superintendents and managers of the mining corporations. Under this economic and political regime the sway of the mine owners has become complete, civil law has been suspended, citizens wantonly murdered and a state of capitalist anarchy established.

"Glaring instances of the arrogance of the ruling class and their servants was manifested in the declaration of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that he is willing to sacrifice his fortune in continuance of the outrageous policy adopted by his agents; in the action of General Chase having his troops ride down, wound and kill defenseless women and children, after illegally investing with military power imported thugs, hired as mine guards, and in the action of Governor Ammons in abetting the reign of terror perpetrated upon the miners and their families.

"In this connection it is well to know that the miners went on strike in order to secure enforcement of the labor legislation already on the statute books, providing for the right of working men to join labor unions, establishing the eight-hour work day, semi-monthly pay-day and check weighmen, and offering the opportunity to the miners of trading with independent stores.

"It is also well to remember that at the very time the federal government was demanding a salute to the flag from the usurping president of Mexico, the hired mercenaries of the mine owners in Colorado were firing a fusilade of bullets into the tents at Ludlow, above which waved the American flag. Added to this was the shameful spectacle of the president of our republic, who refused to recognize Huerta on the ground that his claim was stained with human blood, sending a special ambassador to confer with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and being refused recognition by him. No further evidence is required to show in whose hands rests the real control of this nation.

"Considering this record of abuse of police powers by the government at the behest of the plutocracy, together with numerous similar occurrences in other parts of the country; considering the treasonable employment by them of private detective agencies to provoke and execute disorder and crime; considering the fact that the poverty of the workers is pitted against the unlimited resources of their exploiters, the restraint of the workers has been in significant contrast with the alleged law and order of the capitalist class.

"Representing the political party of the working class, we, the National Committee of the Socialist Party, favor having complete amnesty declared for the strikers in Colorado, who took up arms in self-defense, and pledge them our fullest support should they be prosecuted for having done so.

"We also pledge our co-operation and assistance to the miners and other labor organizations in any move to make government by force and violence a crime punishable by appropriate penalty.

"And, finally, we urge upon the workers the necessity of abolishing capitalist ownership of the mines and mining industry of the country, and the substitution therefor of public ownership and control for the common benefit of the working class."

PART V.

THE EVIL EFFECTS OF CAPITALISM

1. Concentration of Wealth and Power.

(a) WEALTH OF KINGS IN AMERICA AND ELSEWHERE COMPARED.

(From the Arsenal of Facts, Appeal to Reason.)

The Wall Street Journal places the net profits of the Standard Oil Company for the past twenty-five years and six months at \$929,000,000. This sum is so stupendous that it is impossible for the average mind to comprehend just what it represents, in order that you may make a comparison I publish below a list of the rulers of Europe and the presidents of North and South America with the amounts paid them for their "service" and multiply the total by $25\frac{1}{2}$, the number of years covered in the report of the net earnings of the Standard Oil Company:

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| British Royal family..... | \$ 2,910,000 |
| Emperor of Austro-Hungary | 3,875,000 |
| King of Bavaria | 1,412,000 |
| King of Belgium | 660,000 |
| King of Denmark..... | 227,775 |
| King of Greece | 280,000 |
| King of Netherlands | 250,000 |
| King of Italy | 2,858,000 |
| King of Norway and Sweden..... | 575,525 |
| King of Portugal | 634,440 |
| King of Prussia | 3,852,770 |
| King of Roumania | 237,000 |
| Czar of Russia | 12,000,000 |
| King of Saxony | 735,000 |
| King of Servia..... | 240,000 |
| King of Spain | 2,000,000 |
| King of Wurtemberg | 449,050 |
| President of France..... | 250,000 |
| President of United States..... | 75,000 |
| President of Mexico | 50,000 |
| Governor General of Canada..... | 50,000 |
| South American Republics | 200,000 |

| | |
|---|---------------|
| Total per year | \$ 33,821,560 |
| Total for $25\frac{1}{2}$ years..... | 862,449,780 |
| Rockefeller "Interests" income for $25\frac{1}{2}$ years..... | 929,000,000 |

2. Poverty.

(a) EXTENT OF POVERTY IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From Poverty, by Robert Hunter. Pub. by The Macmillan Company.)

After studying with great care all the statistics and sources of information known to me upon the subject, I have come to the conclusion, as stated in my book on "Poverty," there are no fewer than 10,000,000 persons in actual poverty in the United States. This does not mean that there is this number in distress; it does mean that at least this number is much of the time underfed, poorly clothed and improperly housed. The estimate is conservative, and an inquiry properly conducted would very likely show a much larger number of persons in poverty.

I base this statement upon my own observation in various cities in this country, upon the figures of the U. S. census for

1900 concerning unemployment, upon the reports of the State Boards of Charity, the Bulletin of Statistics Department of the city of Boston of 1903, the records of the Municipal Court of New York concerning the number of evictions, and the report of the Department of Corrections, concerning the number of pauper burials in New York City. * * *

These additional facts are important: Over 2,000,000 workmen in the year 1900 were unemployed from four to six months during the year; about 500,000 male immigrants arrive yearly and seek work in the very districts where unemployment is greatest. Nearly half of the families in the country are propertyless; over 1,700,000 little children are forced to become wage-earners when they should still be in school; about 5,000,000 women find it necessary to work, and about 2,000,000 are employed in mills, factories, etc.; probably not fewer than 1,000,000 workers are injured or killed while doing their work; and about 10,000,000 of the persons now living will, if the present ratio is kept up, die of the preventable disease, tuberculosis.

Poverty in the United States.

(Encyclopedia Social Reform—Bliss. Published by Funk & Wagnalls Company.)

The number of paupers in alms houses in the U. S. in 1903, as reported by the census, was 81,764. But this is only one class of the poor in any country.

Professor Bushnell, in Professor Henderson's "Modern Methods of Charity," says that "the total number of public and private abnormal dependents in the U. S. must not be far from 3,000,000, or one-twenty-fifth of the total population of the country, at an annual expense of nearly \$200,000,000 or one-tenth of the total wage income of all the manufacturing establishments in the country." * * *

This number of 3,000,000 receiving reported aid is the same number estimated in 1890 by Charles D. Kellogg, then secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society, and by Prof. R. T. Ely (North American Review, April, 1891). But these figures are only those receiving known aid. It by no means includes all the poor according to Mr. Booth's definition. Using the word in that sense Robert T. Hunter estimates the total number of the poor in the U. S. at 10,000,000.

(b) THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY IN CHICAGO.

(From the Chicago Tribune, January 28, 1914.)

Is society, in building one great charitable institution after another, in constantly extending the agencies of private charity, attacking the great problems of poverty and delinquency in the wrong way?

The facts are hard to get. Accuracy is almost impossible because the work of various public and private agencies largely overlaps. But even in an incomplete form the figures for Chicago are sufficiently startling.

It appears in the first place that an army of more than 20,000 people are supported all the year round at the public expense in various charitable and penal institutions. One out of every 110 residents of Cook county is a permanent public charge in an asylum, home, or penitentiary.

To the state institutions alone Chicago sends about 9,000 people, less than 1,000 of this number being confined in the state penitentiary and reformatory. The insane and feeble minded from Chicago who are undergoing treatment in state hospitals number more than 7,000.

In the institutions supported by Cook county there are more than 5,000 people. The average daily population of the county

infirmary and home at Oak Forest is nearly 2,200. Herded together like cattle in the county jail is a constantly changing mass of something like 600 men and women. In the juvenile detention home 100 little boys and girls under 16 are always waiting the attention of the judge. Over at the county hospital the average daily population is about 1,600.

The city of Chicago itself supports institutions which at present care for nearly 5,000 men and women. Out at the house of correction alone there are about 1,900 men and boys always on hand. And during the present winter every drop in temperature brings the guests at the free municipal lodging houses up to 2,500 a night. These figures do not include the hundreds of unfortunates who are each night jammed into the filthy cell-houses of the city police stations.

But the record of public institutions does not begin to tell the tale of destitution or of the number of people in Chicago who depend for at least a part of their support on charity. Here again it is almost impossible to get exact figures. But making allowance for possible duplications it appears that during 1913 the county agent, the United Charities, and the Associated Jewish Charities alone answered more than 150,000 individual cases of appeal for aid.

Adding to this number the 20,000 Cook county residents in penal and charitable institutions, there are found to be 170,000 people who are not self-supporting—one out of every thirteen citizens of Chicago is a recipient of charity.

The county agent alone gave aid in 1913 to 12,635 families, with a total membership of more than 50,000 individuals. The county's bill for groceries alone during the year was more than \$100,000. The county also paid pensions to the amount of \$165,000 to 350 indigent mothers to help them in the support of 1,125 children. It otherwise cared for more than 10,000 dependent and delinquent children and buried at public expense nearly 1,000 friendless and pauper dead.

The United Charities answered calls for help from 14,264 families in the city, representing approximately 60,000 people, and that after being as careful as possible to see that they were not imposed on by people who were already being aided by other charitable agencies.

The Associated Jewish Charities took care of 2,304 cases during the year, most of them representing in each instance a whole family in distress. They are fairly certain that none of their beneficiaries received help from the United Charities, though a few may have had supplies from the county agent.

Besides these three great agencies there are hundreds of other charitable organizations in the city, which do in the aggregate an enormous amount of work. The bureau to which sixty-five of these charitable societies report, including the United Charities but neither the county agent nor the Jewish charities, has a total of 90,000 calls for aid on its books during the last year.

A statement published by the general educational committee on Chicago philanthropy shows a total expenditure for charity and relief in Cook county of nearly \$11,000,000, and this does not include by any means all of the private charitable organizations. Students of the subject put the annual figure at no less than \$15,000,000. Of this \$4,250,000 comes from the public funds; the rest represents private contributions.

The number of dependents, defectives, and delinquents in Chicago—to use the technical terms—is increasing rapidly, faster in proportion than the population of the city.

Almost overwhelmed as they are in the tremendous effort to relieve distress, the leaders in the movement are more and

more turning to the study of the underlying causes and conditions which are responsible for it.

What, they ask, can the united effort of the people of Chicago do to reduce the number of these causes and improve these conditions?

(c) CAUSES OF POVERTY.

Economic Conditions, Not Intemperance, Chief Cause of Poverty.—It is often stated that intemperance is the greatest and chief cause of poverty. This has been completely disproven by careful sociological investigation. For the facts upon these points see PART II, Sec. 4, sub-section (e), page 79.

Causes of Poverty.—(As compiled by Dr. Edward T. Devine, secretary of the New York Charity Organization Society.)—Five thousand families, chosen at random from the many thousands which have sought relief from the society (Charity Society of New York) during the last few years, were studied from the standpoint of the disabilities which made the application for public relief necessary—in other words, the conditions which created a condition of poverty too serious to be endured without assistance. Following are the results of the study:

| Factors that appear as one cause of poverty. | Per cent of the whole number studied in which this factor app'r'd |
|--|---|
| Unemployment | 69 |
| Overcrowding | 45 |
| Widowhood | 30 |
| Physical disability— | |
| Chronic | 27 |
| Temporary | 20 |
| Intemperance | 16 |
| Laziness | 12 |
| Immorality | 5 |
| Mental disease or deficiency | 4.9 |
| Criminal record | 3 |
| Violent temper | 2 |
| Gambling, less than | 1.5 |

(These percentages added together are more than 100, of course, because several causes may have operated in any one case. For example, unemployment and widowhood may both have contributed toward the poverty of a beneficiary.)

Causes of Poverty.—The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor made this statement regarding the causes of the poverty of those who sought relief during the summer of 1911:

"The two most striking points were the large number of families reduced to poverty by sickness, and the insignificant part played by intemperance as a contributing cause. Of the 1,573 cases in the association's care, sickness was the cause of poverty in 681 cases, or 43 per cent. Intemperance caused a trifle less than 2 per cent. Unemployment was the second most important cause, with 25 per cent. Insufficient income led 12 per cent to seek relief; death and accident, 4 per cent; old age, 1 per cent. Other contributing causes were imprisonment, fire, mental deficiency, immorality and insanity."

Quoted by John Haynes Holmes in "The Revolutionary Function of the Modern Church."

Low Wages and Poverty.—The Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics showed a few years ago, when the cost of living was less than now, that a family of five could not live decently and in health upon less than \$754 a year, but more than half of the unskilled workers in the shoe-making industry of that State got less than \$300 a year!

Mr. John Mitchell said that in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania it was impossible to maintain a family of five in decency on less than \$600 a year, but, according to Dr. Peter

Roberts, who is one of the most conservative of living authorities upon the conditions of industry in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, the average wage in the anthracite district is less than \$500, and about 60 per cent receive less than \$450 a year.

A good many years ago General Booth, head of the Salvation Army, declared that nine-tenths of the poverty of the people was due to intemperance. Later on "Commissioner" Cadman, one of the "General's" most trusted aides, made an investigation of the causes of poverty among all those who passed through the army shelters for destitute men and women. He found that, among the very lowest class, the "submerged tenth," where the ravages of drink are most sadly evident, depression in trade counted for much more than drink as a cause of poverty. The figures were:

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| Depression in trade..... | 55.8 per cent |
| Drink and gambling..... | 26.6 per cent |
| Ill health | 11.6 per cent |
| Old age | 5.8 per cent |

3. Housing.

(a) TENURE OF HOMES IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From "Suppressed Information," published by Appeal to Reason.)

| | Rented, per ct. | Free, per ct. | Mort- gag'd, per ct. |
|--|--------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| 1903— | | | |
| For the United States (U. S. Labor Report, 18th Vol., pp. 54-55), working class fami- lies | 81.1 | 10.6 | 8.8 |
| 1900— | | | |
| For the United States (Census Report, Vol. II, p. cxcii), all families | 53.5 | 31.8 | 14.7 |
| 1890— | | | |
| For the United States (Census Report, Vol. II, p. cxcii), all families | 52.2 | 34.4 | 13.4 |

America is very rapidly becoming a nation of tenants. A glance at the above summary discloses this fact—a fact which our friends of the capitalist parties would hide from their constituency. Mr. Roosevelt of late has had much to say about "race suicide"—but I have seen nothing from his pen which would indicate that he was aware of the startling tendency toward "home suicide." * * *

Take New York City, for instance. New York, it might be mentioned in passing, is the wealthiest city in the Union. Its banks stand on a par with the financial houses of Europe, and it is whispered that the seat of the financial power is soon to be, if not already, located on Manhattan Island.

In the value of its manufactures it stands at the head of the list. Its per capita wealth production is exceeded by but three other American cities.

It leads in the number of millionaires within its borders—in point of fact, New York typifies American financial and industrial progress, and yet what do the census reports show?

Read in the history of New York City the history of every other city—and know to a certainty that the homeless condition of its inhabitants is the condition in which the people of every other city will find themselves at no distant day.

In New York City there are, reported by the census, a few over 400,000 "homes." Of this number less than 9,000 are owned free and unincumbered; less than 14,000 families have even a mortgaged title to shelter over their heads;—

And 384,349 are rented!

Ponder over the spectacle. Of the four millions of people in New York City, surrounded on every hand by wealth outrivalling as does the sun the stars the dazzling splendor of Rome in her most palmy days of robbery and rapine—a few over two per cent can say they have a home exempt from the toll of the landlord and the money shark!

New York City is but a type, a little more intensified, of other American cities.

The census statistician has painstakingly gathered his information, and it should damn any politician who claims responsibility for the prosperous times of the past twenty-five years. * * *

I have quoted thus at length from the report in order to get the thought firmly fixed in the mind of the reader that we are discussing figures indicating the high-water mark of capitalistic prosperity. Naturally, during the prosperous times men buy homes, and it is not assuming too much to say that every family who possibly could availed themselves of the extraordinary opportunity to secure this very desirable possession. But what do the

figures tell us? Says the government statistician, page xciii, Vol. II:

A careful study of the census figures will show that the older, of hired or rented or encumbered homes.

richer and more advanced the community, the larger the per cent

From this summary it appears that of the 16,187,715 homes on the mainland of the United States in 1900, 7,259,362 are returned as owned by the families living in them, 8,365,739 as hired, leaving 562,614 for which the facts of proprietorship were not stated. Disregarding the unknown element and considering the percentages based upon known proprietorship, it appears that 46.4 per cent of all the homes in 1900 are owned and 53.5 per cent are hired. The owned free constitute 31.8 per cent. * * * These percentages, as compared with similar percentages for 1890, show a slightly increased proportion of both hired and encumbered homes and a corresponding decreased proportion of homes owned free. * * * A comparison of the percentages for farm homes show conditions similar to those already stated for all homes. (United States Census Report, page xciii, Vol. II.)

(b) HOME OWNERSHIP BY STATES.

(Approximate figures.)

—Plate No. 19, Vol. 2.

U. S. Census Rept., 1900.

| | Owned free per cent. | Mort- gaged per cent. | Rent- ed, per cent. |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Alaska | 80 | .. | 20 |
| New Mexico | 67 | 3 | 30 |
| Oklahoma | 63 | 9 | 28 |
| Idaho | 62 | 10 | 28 |
| Nevada | 61 | 7 | 32 |
| Utah | 60 | 8 | 32 |
| North Dakota | 57 | 23 | 20 |
| Arizona | 52 | 5 | 43 |
| Montana | 50 | 7 | 43 |
| South Dakota | 49 | 22 | 29 |
| Maine | 49 | 16 | 35 |
| Oregon | 45 | 15 | 40 |
| West Virginia | 45 | 10 | 45 |
| Washington | 45 | 10 | 45 |
| Wyoming | 48 | 8 | 44 |
| Kentucky | 42 | 9 | 49 |
| Florida | 41 | 6 | 53 |
| Virginia | 40 | 10 | 50 |
| Arkansas | 40 | 7 | 53 |
| Wisconsin | 40 | 26 | 34 |
| Tennessee | 40 | 6 | 54 |
| Minnesota | 40 | 24 | 36 |
| New Hampshire | 40 | 15 | 45 |
| Kansas | 39 | 20 | 41 |
| North Carolina | 39 | 8 | 53 |
| Michigan | 36 | 25 | 39 |
| Texas | 36 | 9 | 55 |
| Indiana | 36 | 20 | 44 |
| Iowa | 35 | 25 | 40 |
| Ohio | 35 | 18 | 47 |
| Colorado | 35 | 13 | 52 |
| Nebraska | 35 | 22 | 23 |
| Vermont | 35 | 25 | 40 |
| California | 34 | 13 | 53 |
| Indian Territory | 33 | 2 | 65 |
| Missouri | 32 | 19 | 49 |
| Illinois | 28 | 17 | 55 |
| Alabama | 28 | 7 | 65 |
| Maryland | 27 | 13 | 60 |
| Pennsylvania | 26 | 15 | 59 |
| Louisiana | 25 | 5 | 70 |
| Mississippi | 25 | 10 | 65 |
| Georgia | 25 | 5 | 70 |
| South Carolina | 24 | 6 | 70 |
| Delaware | 22 | 14 | 64 |
| Hawaii | 18 | 2 | 80 |
| Connecticut | 20 | 20 | 60 |
| Massachusetts | 19 | 16 | 65 |
| New York | 18 | 15 | 67 |
| Rhode Island | 15 | 15 | 70 |
| New Jersey | 15 | 20 | 65 |
| District of Columbia | 15 | 10 | 75 |

(c) HOME OWNERSHIP IN THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

| City. | Free. | Mort- gaged. | Rented. |
|--------------------------|-------|-----------------|---------|
| Akron, Ohio | 2912 | 2001 | 4288 |
| Albany, N. Y. | 3598 | 1626 | 15141 |
| Allegheny, Pa. | 4021 | 2324 | 18983 |
| Allentown, Pa. | 1509 | 1172 | 4949 |
| Altoona, Pa. | 1711 | 1374 | 4739 |
| Atlanta, Ga. | 2582 | 977 | 15841 |
| Atlanta City, N. J. | 453 | 606 | 3568 |

(Continued)

(c) HOME OWNERSHIP IN THE PRINCIPAL CITIES
OF THE UNITED STATES.

| City. | Free. | gaged. Mort- | Rented. |
|---------------------------|-------|-----------------|---------|
| Auburn, N. Y. | 1653 | 1279 | 3557 |
| Augusta, Ga. | 1263 | 170 | 7397 |
| Baltimore, Md. | 19286 | 6960 | 69761 |
| Bay City, Mich. | 1586 | 862 | 2861 |
| Bayonne, N. J. | 665 | 954 | 4663 |
| Binghamton, N. Y. | 1717 | 1767 | 5518 |
| Birmingham, Ala. | 794 | 234 | 6691 |
| Boston, Mass. | 9944 | 10395 | 89083 |
| Bridgeport, Conn. | 1271 | 2113 | 11491 |
| Brockton, Mass. | 924 | 1985 | 5958 |
| Buffalo, N. Y. | 10965 | 11844 | 47298 |
| Butte, Mont. | 1150 | 432 | 3988 |
| Cambridge, Mass. | 2055 | 1844 | 14690 |
| Camden, N. J. | 1912 | 2164 | 12303 |
| Canton, Ohio | 1920 | 1324 | 3592 |
| Cedar Rapids, Iowa | 1632 | 1192 | 2851 |
| Charleston, S. C. | 1974 | 279 | 10639 |
| Chattanooga, Tenn. | 879 | 266 | 5345 |
| Chelsea, Mass. | 856 | 907 | 5463 |
| Chester, Pa. | 785 | 996 | 4979 |
| Chicago, Ill. | 39246 | 43735 | 258582 |
| Cincinnati, Ohio | 9725 | 4915 | 56384 |
| Cleveland, Ohio | 16240 | 12246 | 48844 |
| Columbus, Ohio | 4445 | 3204 | 17822 |
| Council Bluffs, Ia. | 1304 | 782 | 3147 |
| Covington, Ky. | 1959 | 923 | 6235 |
| Dallas, Texas | 2233 | 539 | 5685 |
| Davenport, Iowa | 2443 | 1086 | 4142 |
| Dayton, Ohio | 3738 | 3414 | 11943 |
| Denver, Colo. | 5000 | 3114 | 21215 |
| Des Moines, Iowa | 2912 | 2164 | 8228 |
| Detroit, Mich. | 12378 | 9172 | 35178 |
| Dubuque, Iowa | 2191 | 819 | 4154 |
| Duluth, Minn. | 2057 | 981 | 5692 |
| Easton, Pa. | 1300 | 664 | 3664 |
| East St. Louis, Ill. | 844 | 578 | 4097 |
| Elizabeth, N. J. | 1461 | 1819 | 6855 |
| Elmira, N. Y. | 1961 | 1231 | 4620 |
| Erie, Pa. | 2929 | 1624 | 6086 |
| Evansville, Ind. | 2762 | 876 | 7849 |
| Fall River, Mass. | 1473 | 2098 | 16711 |
| Fitchburg, Mass. | 884 | 1100 | 4298 |
| Fort Wayne, Ind. | 2534 | 2165 | 5142 |
| Fort Worth, Tex. | 1424 | 500 | 3290 |
| Galveston, Tex. | 1867 | 399 | 4885 |
| Gloucester, Mass. | 1110 | 848 | 3320 |
| Grand Rapids, Mich. | 3742 | 4184 | 11534 |
| Harrisburg, Pa. | 1506 | 1313 | 7474 |
| Hartford, Conn. | 1109 | 2296 | 12604 |
| Haverhill, Mass. | 1380 | 1399 | 5723 |
| Hoboken, N. J. | 769 | 451 | 11750 |
| Holyoke, Mass. | 616 | 1042 | 6978 |
| Honolulu, Hawaii | 1121 | 226 | 5111 |
| Houston, Tex. | 1907 | 435 | 5800 |
| Indianapolis, Ind. | 6741 | 5832 | 25004 |
| Jackson, Mich. | 1719 | 1379 | 2793 |
| Jacksonville, Fla. | 1179 | 406 | 4931 |
| Jersey City, N. J. | 4569 | 3729 | 34060 |
| Johnstown, Pa. | 1818 | 656 | 4107 |
| Joliet, Ill. | 1513 | 958 | 3106 |
| Joplin, Mo. | 1945 | 582 | 2600 |
| Kansas City, Kans. | 2451 | 1227 | 7450 |
| Kansas City, Mo. | 4501 | 3774 | 26466 |
| Knoxville, Tenn. | 1303 | 320 | 4579 |
| La Crosse, Wis. | 1811 | 1035 | 2961 |
| Lancaster, Pa. | 1554 | 1448 | 5552 |
| Lawrence, Mass. | 1428 | 1536 | 9281 |
| Lexington, Ky. | 1320 | 356 | 4015 |
| Lincoln, Nebr. | 1504 | 782 | 4749 |
| Little Rock, Ark. | 1540 | 701 | 5157 |
| Los Angeles, Calif. | 5959 | 3743 | 12745 |
| Louisville, Ky. | 8361 | 2692 | 31640 |
| Lowell, Mass. | 2330 | 1730 | 13910 |
| Lynn, Mass. | 1959 | 2529 | 10358 |
| McKeesport, Pa. | 948 | 1071 | 4657 |
| Malden, Mass. | 1219 | 1620 | 4217 |
| Manchester, N. H. | 1686 | 989 | 8196 |
| Memphis, Tenn. | 2676 | 607 | 15851 |
| Milwaukee, Wis. | 9541 | 11278 | 37466 |
| Minneapolis, Minn. | 6287 | 4903 | 28522 |
| Mobile, Ala. | 2198 | 151 | 6297 |
| Montgomery, Ala. | 1246 | 447 | 5213 |
| Nashville, Tenn. | 3320 | 628 | 12564 |
| Newark, N. J. | 4415 | 6517 | 41270 |
| New Bedford, Mass. | 2144 | 1480 | 9596 |
| New Britain, Conn. | 288 | 1218 | 3797 |
| Newcastle, Pa. | 1396 | 942 | 3542 |

(Continued)

(c) HOME OWNERSHIP IN THE PRINCIPAL CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

| City. | Free. | gaged. Mort- | Rented. |
|-----------------------------------|--------|-----------------|---------|
| New Haven, Conn. | 2413 | 3598 | 16722 |
| New Orleans, La. | 10634 | 1698 | 45129 |
| Newport, Ky. | 1461 | 723 | 3872 |
| Newton, Mass. | 1463 | 1430 | 3499 |
| New York, N. Y. | 35050 | 48002 | 617474 |
| Manhattan and Bronx Boroughs | 8948 | 13938 | 384349 |
| Brooklyn Borough | 18611 | 25763 | 205154 |
| Queens Borough | 4828 | 6197 | 19681 |
| Richmond Borough | 2663 | 2104 | 8290 |
| Norfolk, Va. | 1284 | 326 | 7922 |
| Oakland, Cal. | 3846 | 2124 | 8362 |
| Omaha, Nebr. | 3127 | 2113 | 13941 |
| Oshkosh, Wis. | 2035 | 1509 | 2134 |
| Passaic, N. J. | 440 | 791 | 4014 |
| Paterson, N. J. | 2016 | 3088 | 17285 |
| Pawtucket, R. I. | 1015 | 1154 | 6060 |
| Peoria, Ill. | 2545 | 1713 | 6916 |
| Philadelphia, Pa. | 29033 | 24013 | 196124 |
| Pittsburgh, Pa. | 9014 | 7178 | 44364 |
| Portland, Me. | 2529 | 899 | 7358 |
| Portland, Ore. | 3041 | 1334 | 10004 |
| Providence, R. I. | 4087 | 3708 | 29696 |
| Pueblo, Colo. | 1082 | 593 | 3693 |
| Quincy, Ill. | 2060 | 1141 | 4734 |
| Racine, Wis. | 1,457 | 1,554 | 2,920 |
| Reading, Pa. | 3,139 | 2,825 | 10,191 |
| Richmond, Va. | 2,259 | 748 | 12,408 |
| Rochester, N. Y. | 6,001 | 6,289 | 20,481 |
| Rockford, Ill. | 1,663 | 1,239 | 4,095 |
| Sacramento, Cal. | 1,549 | 695 | 3,672 |
| Saginaw, Mich. | 3,404 | 1,271 | 4,304 |
| St. Joseph, Mo. | 3,062 | 1,352 | 11,080 |
| St. Louis, Mo. | 16,097 | 9,699 | 90,983 |
| St. Paul, Minn. | 5,556 | 2,851 | 20,266 |
| Salem, Mass. | 1,341 | 864 | 5,338 |
| Salt Lake City, Utah. | 3,189 | 1,202 | 6,700 |
| San Antonio, Tex. | 3,252 | 470 | 6,411 |
| San Francisco, Cal. | 10,186 | 5,139 | 49,656 |
| Savannah, Ga. | 1,106 | 316 | 9,976 |
| Schenectady, N. Y. | 913 | 1,139 | 4,281 |
| Scranton, Pa. | 4,600 | 2,583 | 12,209 |
| Seattle, Wash. | 2,780 | 903 | 8,171 |
| Sioux City, Iowa. | 1,376 | 895 | 4,147 |
| Somerville, Mass. | 1,760 | 2,240 | 9,745 |
| South Bend, Ind. | 1,810 | 1,603 | 4,181 |
| South Omaha, Neb. | 962 | 642 | 2,443 |
| Spokane, Wash. | 1,789 | 811 | 4,642 |
| Springfield, Ill. | 2,306 | 1,223 | 3,674 |
| Springfield, Mass. | 1,842 | 2,607 | 9,009 |
| Springfield, Ohio | 1,879 | 1,162 | 5,354 |
| Superior, Wis. | 1,172 | 337 | 3,321 |
| Syracuse, N. Y. | 4,082 | 5,115 | 15,439 |
| Tacoma, Wash. | 1,622 | 441 | 4,863 |
| Taunton, Mass. | 1,388 | 960 | 4,017 |
| Terre Haute, Ind. | 1,918 | 1,275 | 4,925 |
| Toledo, Ohio | 6,793 | 4,990 | 15,851 |
| Trenton, N. J. | 1,411 | 2,316 | 10,593 |
| Topeka, Kan. | 1,882 | 1,172 | 4,454 |
| Troy, N. Y. | 1,508 | 1,113 | 9,531 |
| Utica, N. Y. | 2,125 | 2,163 | 7,193 |
| Washington, D. C. | 8,441 | 4,261 | 40,753 |
| Waterbury, Conn. | 687 | 1,367 | 6,973 |
| Wheeling, W. Va. | 2,128 | 666 | 5,438 |
| Wilkesbarre, Pa. | 2,009 | 1,404 | 6,400 |
| Williamsport, Pa. | 1,403 | 859 | 3,958 |
| Wilmington, Del. | 1,661 | 2,209 | 10,630 |
| Woonsocket, R. I. | 487 | 518 | 4,290 |
| Worcester, Mass. | 2,055 | 3,807 | 17,875 |
| Yonkers, N. Y. | 729 | 1,193 | 6,692 |
| York, Pa. | 1,824 | 901 | 4,401 |
| Youngstown, Ohio | 2,524 | 1,280 | 4,750 |

(d) OVERCROWDING.

(Encyclopedia of Social Reform—Bliss.)

According to an article by Mr. Finley in the Federation's Bulletin (No. 4, 1906), there are fifty-one blocks in Manhattan with populations of over 3,000 inhabitants each. One block on the west side has a population of 6,173 and a density of 1,145 per acre. Several smaller blocks, mainly on the east side, with smaller populations have still higher densities.

In no other cities in the United States does such overcrowd-

ing exist. Yet other cities have conditions bad enough. According to an investigation made of certain districts of Chicago, in 1905 (reported in *Charities*, Jan. 6, 1906), and compared with an investigation of the same in 1900, there has been little or no improvement. There were found 87 city lots wholly built over, 144 more lots 90-100 per cent built over. There were 730 rear buildings occupied by 3,545 persons; 983 rooms were "dark, very dark, or dark and gloomy"; 4,845 persons, of whom 2,652 were children, lived in basements or cellars. There were 161 bath tubs for 1,598 houses and 21,612 people. Garbage was uncollected or dumped in the yards.

After Chicago, Boston, Cincinnati and Jersey City have the most overcrowding; though in proportion to their size Hoboken, N. J., and Fall River and Holyoke, Mass., have worse conditions. * * *

The totals for the 160 cities of continental United States having at least 25,000 inhabitants are as follows: Total population, 19,718,312; total dwellings, 2,884,621; total families, 4,217,644; private families—number 4,137,279, population 18,632,457; families not private, 80,365. Average number of persons to a dwelling, 6.8; family, 4.7; private family, 4.5.

Disease, Vice and Crime.—"They are centers of disease, poverty, vice and crime. All the conditions which surround childhood, youth and womanhood in New York's crowded tenement quarters make for unrighteousness."

A friend of the writer, a few years ago, went with a city missionary on a midnight tour of exploration, which he thus describes: "A few steps out of Broadway we came to the vilest dens of infamy. In one room, not more than ten by twelve, we came upon eighteen human beings, men and women, black and white, Americans and foreign-born, who there ate, slept and lived."—Dr. Josiah Strong in **"The Challenge of the City,"** 1907.

"That the plague (consumption) spreads with congestion has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. It spreads even faster than the crowd pours in. So it is in the block we have taken (the lung block, so called owing to the ravages of consumption in it). * * * Between 1890 and 1900 the density of its already crowded population increased no less than 65 per cent. The lung block alone holds nearly 4,000 people * * * of these some 400 are babies.

It is a block of a thousand homes. Through halls, in rooms, on stairways, in courts, in shafts, and out on fire escapes are sprinkled the 400 babies. At the age of two they are found alone in the street, already imbibing its deep, muddy wisdom.

In a block so congested, the plague spreads swiftly. In the past nine years alone this block has reported 265 cases. Doctors and others declare that this is not more than one-half of the true number."—Ernest Poole: **"A Handbook on the Prevention of Tuberculosis"** (1903).

Statistics of New York.—(Fifth Report of the Tenement House Department of the City of New York: 1909, page 102.)

In the New York City slums there are 364,367 dark rooms, and of these 101,207 had no windows at all (p. 75).

In Brooklyn there are 59,447 totally dark rooms; in Manhattan, 36,815; in The Bronx, 1,281; in Queens, 3,415; in Richmond, 219 (p. 75).

These rooms depend for light and ventilation on connecting outer rooms or on air-shafts. The so-called "air-shaft" is really a well of stagnant foul air, about 28 inches wide, 50 or 60 feet long and extending from the ground to the top of the building, often 60 or 70 feet or more.

The tenement house population in New York is 3,624,431 persons, or 78.1 per cent of total population (p. 101).

(e) HOUSING AND HEALTH.

From "School Feeding," by Louise Stevens Bryant, pages 219-220, published by J. B. Lippincott Company.)

In 1907 Dr. Leslie Mackenzie and Captain Foster of Glasgow, investigated 72,800 cases varying from five to fifteen years, and covering all of the children in the public schools of the city.

In a crowded city like Glasgow, the size of the house is a fair index of the degree of comfort or poverty of the family. There are exceptions, in cases of especially small families, but when tens of thousands of cases figure in the data, the number of rooms is a trustworthy index of the economic status. The one-room child is the poverty stricken child, and hence the underfed child. The four-room child on the other hand belongs to a family much better situated economically. The truth of these principles is forcibly illustrated by the results obtained in the investigation under consideration.

When the average height and weight of the children of the different groups are taken, it appears that the child from the one-room house is always lighter and shorter than the child from the two-room. He in turn is shorter and does not weigh so much as the child in the three-room house—who in turn is the physical inferior of the child living in a house of four rooms or more. These results are shown in the following table:

Average Height and Weight of all Children from 5-18 years, according to Housing.

| Housing. | Average weight in pounds. | Average height in inches. |
|--------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 room..... | 52.0 | 46.5 |
| 2 rooms..... | 55.5 | 48.9 |
| 3 rooms..... | 60.0 | 50.4 |
| 4 rooms..... | 64.9 | 51.5 |

4. Political Corruption.

(a) THE INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT UNDER SEARCH-LIGHT.

(By John Callan O'Laughlin, in the American Review of Reviews, September, 1913.)

These men have gone into States and Congressional districts, notably in the case of the National Association of Manufacturers, to elect candidates in sympathy with their views and to defeat men opposed to them.

Indeed, the ambition of some men seeming to control the policy of the National Association of Manufacturers, as disclosed by their own letters, has soared to the point of influencing the election of a president of the United States and the appointment of a member of his cabinet. Literally, the great interests have spent money like water and found it profitable; and in order to escape responsibility for their acts they have burned books, sent unsigned instructions, and designated their employes by numbers instead of by their proper names.

It is illuminating to describe the methods the testimony shows to have been employed by Big Business to secure or defeat legislation. It has obtained the services of the most skilful men it can get. They may be divided roughly into three classes. The first is composed of able lawyers, prepared by legitimate argument to present the side they are retained to advocate. The second comprises legislative lawyers, receiving enormous salaries, whose business it is to haunt the capitol and bring to bear every art at their command to advance legislation desired by their clients or to obstruct and delay legislation inimical to the interest of those clients. This involves the use of parliamentary or unparliamentary tactics, the extension

of social courtesies and the attempt to place members of the Senate and House and officials of the administration under personal obligation. The third class is made up of **ex-Senators** and **ex-Congressmen**, who exercise large influence with those actually in the Senate and House by reason of the standing they enjoy through the confidence of the people of their respective states and districts; by reason of their long association with members of the two houses; and by reason of their experience in legislative affairs.

Besides the several classes of men I have described, the evidence shows the employment of another class, skilful men who performed the functions of detectives. Martin M. Mulhall, long a confidential agent of the National Association of Manufacturers, whose letters forced the investigators to delve into the operations of the association, belongs to this class. It was his duty, as he swore on the witness stand and as his reports assert, to visit various states and districts, purchasing men on the other side, burrowing into the defense of the opposition and undermining it, aiding and opposing congressional and gubernatorial candidates, bribing labor representatives and advancing by secret and infamous methods the aims of the association. His sordid evidence would be of little weight standing by itself; but reinforced by letters from the presidents and officers of the association heartily congratulating him upon the work he has done and commending him as worthy of supreme confidence, it has to be given consideration. But more important are the original letters he has produced and others subpoenaed from the association itself, all tending to prove the intense interest of the association in legislation and in labor matters. None of these letters, and this is significant, has the association repudiated. It stands by them, asserting that they show nothing sinister, but only a legitimate use of methods available to everyone.

It is interesting to elaborate a little further on the tactics employed by Special Privilege. A favorite policy has been to impress the President and members of the Senate and House with the existence of a determined public sentiment for or against a measure, when in fact the public was only slightly, or perhaps not at all interested. For example, the officials named have been flooded with letters and telegrams emanating from the same source but signed by different names. To create a sentiment, friendly Senators and members were persuaded to deliver speeches written by the lobbyists, which were published at the government printing office and mailed by the thousands under government frank. Pamphlets, also written by the lobbyists, likewise were printed, in part at public expense, and mailed without charge. Newspapers were induced to print matter favorable to the interests concerned. Advertisements were published, to which there could be no objection unless misleading, but they must be taken into account because they constituted an item of campaign expense.

Sometimes the effrontery of the lobbyists went to the point of inducing voters, whose interest they said would be injuriously or advantageously affected, to threaten their Representatives with defeat if they failed to pursue a certain course of action.

The expense of lobbying operations is heavy. During the last six years, it is alleged, \$1,500,000 passed through the hands of the National Council of Industrial Defense, an unincorporated association organized largely on paper and dominated, it would appear, by agents of the manufactuerrs as a means of evading the national statute against campaign contributions by corporations. This sum does not represent all that was disbursed; for a system was devised whereby local manufacturers contributed

to local congressional campaigns. The Sugar Trust is said to have used more than \$750,000 in fighting the Cuban reciprocity treaty. During the past twenty years, men identified with the beet sugar interests confessed to the expenditure of \$50,000; and the combined expenditure of all the sugar lobbies in connection with the present tariff revision is certainly \$500,000. The funds were raised for the sugar campaigns through a system of taxation upon production. In the case of the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Council of Industrial Defense attended to the financial end of the work.

Bribery Without Passage of Money.

Where did the money go? Who got it? These pertinent questions are in a way of being answered. One member of Congress is charged with having received money for his services to the National Association of Manufacturers. It has been stated that for years there has been no actual passage of money to members of Congress. To a large extent this is true. But there are many ways by which a member who does the bidding of an interest may be rewarded. Help in this campaign for re-election, either in the way of cash given him directly or through his campaign committee, and frequently through the dispatch of agents to his state—as Mulhall went to Indiana, Ohio, Maine and New Jersey—has proven an effective way of returning favors. It is clear from the evidence that the devil easily may be beaten around the stump if there is only a will.

Big Business is shown to have no politics. It has been as willing to bebauch a Republican Representative as a Democratic Representative. The Republican party, however, is deeper in the mud than the Democratic party is in the mire. Probably this is due to the fact that the Republican party was so long in power and one of its representatives in Congress was worth four of the minority.

(b) THE CAUSE OF CORRUPTION, "BIG BUSINESS."

(From "The Struggle for Self-Government," by Lincoln Steffens. Published by McClure, Phillips & Company.)

Mr. Steffens has studied corruption probably more than any other man in the United States and can not be charged with being prejudiced to the Socialist view. He says:

"Business started the corruption of politics in Pittsburgh, upheld it in Philadelphia, boomed with it in Chicago and withered with its reforms; and in New York business financed the return of Tammany Hall. Here then is our guide out of the labyrinth. Not the political ring, but big business—that is the crux of the situation. Our political corruption is a system, a regularly established custom of the country, by which our political leaders are hired by bribery, by the license to loot and by quiet moral support to conduct the government of the city, state and nation, not for the common good, but for the special interests of private business. Not the politicians, then, not the bribetaker, but the bribe-giver, the man we are so proud of, our successful business man—he is the source and sustenance of our bad government. The captain of industry is the man to catch.

"The typical business man is a bad citizen; he is busy. If he is a 'big business' man and very busy, he does not neglect, he is busy with politics—oh, very busy, and very businesslike. I found him buying boodlers in St. Louis, originating corruption in Pittsburgh, defending grafters in Minneapolis, sharing with bosses in Philadelphia, deploring reforms in Chicago and beating good judgment with corruption funds in New York. [See Mr. Steffens' "The Shame of the Cities."] He is a self-righteous

fraud, this big business man. He is the chief source of corruption and it were a boon if he would neglect politics."

The "Big Business" Man Disapproves of Reform.

Elsewhere Mr. Steffens says: "I spent one whole afternoon calling on the presidents of banks, great business men and financiers interested in public utility companies in Chicago. With all the evidence I had in other cities that these men are the chief sources of corruption, I was unprepared for the sensation of that day. Those financial leaders of Chicago were mad. All but one of them became so enraged as they talked that they could not behave decently. They rose up, purple in the face, and cursed reform. They said it had hurt business; it had hurt the town. 'Anarchy,' they called it; 'Socialism.' They named corporations that had left the city; they named others that had planned to go there and had gone elsewhere."

(c) BIG BUSINESS AND THE BENCH.

How the Courts Have Been Invaded and Judges Swayed By the Power of the Corporations.

(Extracts from an article under that title in Everybody's, February, March, April and May, 1912, by C. P. Connolly.)

[Mr. Connolly is a lawyer of long practice and wide experience, and for years has specialized in subjects that required high literary and legal ability.—Editor's Note.]

The series of articles beginning below is the result of two years' constant investigation—investigation that has carried me into almost every state in the union, into the records of both state and federal courts, high and low. What I have unearthed is an astounding tale of judicial perversion and malpractice. A state of affairs exists which, unless checked, can not but be a serious menace to the country. * * *

When the highest courts of certain states have rendered their final decisions, in some cases unanimously, powerful political leaders, such as Foraker in Ohio and Quay in Pennsylvania, and powerful political bosses, such as Cox in Ohio, Clardy in Missouri, Herrin in California, Evans and the Guggenheim interests in Colorado, have, either in person or by attorney, made their entrance into court; and thereupon the judges, like puppets at the end of a string, have in matters of vital importance turned complete and undignified somersaults, reversing their previous decisions.

I shall show that courts have been packed in order to render decisions favorable to certain corporations—not once but so often that the danger has become too great to ignore. * * *

I shall prove that judicial opinions of our highest courts have been written in the offices of legal departments of railroads and other corporations.

I shall show federal judges so corrupt that long since their impeachment should have been called for—if that were not an impotent and hopeless remedy. I shall show them using the power of their great office to loot prosperous concerns, to the financial advantage of judicial rings. * * *

I shall prove that this corruption of our courts is not confined to any one community, that it pervades every section of the country from ocean to ocean, and that the puppets of corporations sit upon the bench, east and west alike.

I shall show that the law is not keeping pace with our industrial life; * * * that while every other line of human activity is on the automobile and Twentieth-Century-Limited level, the courts are lumbering and creaking along after jaded horses in an ancient stage coach, with the hoop skirt and poke bonnet still a part of the apparel of justice. * * *

I shall prove that it is becoming more and more difficult for the poor and uninfluential litigant, even if his claim be just, to get a decision against a large corporation.

I shall show that the day of the independent lawyer is past—that the influence of corporation lawyers over courts has demoralized the profession.

I shall show that every attempt to investigate the courts has been mysteriously hushed.

And because this is true, I shall show how all these corrupt decisions, creeping gradually into the law, have become part and parcel of it; and in some communities have poisoned the entire judicial system. Fifty per cent, if not more, of our government by laws today is government by judicial decision. * * *

As a practicing lawyer, as a candidate for office, and as prosecuting attorney of Butte, I saw the inside workings of the political machinery and knew the forces behind judicial nominations. Time and again I saw party conventions packed and judges named in the interest of the largest litigant in my state. * * *

I saw fifteen thousand wage earners thrown out of employment on the eve of winter in order to force the public into an attitude of consent to the sway of local judges by a great corporation. * * *

I knew of a judge being trailed at night like a beast or a felon, and finally trapped in a hotel room, where from midnight until 6 o'clock the following morning he was beset by the bribe squad of a corporation, with \$250,000 finally offered him, in a bootless attempt to buy him. * * *

In 1895 sixty people had been killed and 300 maimed in Butte by an explosion of giant powder stored contrary to law. After years of litigation no redress, civil or criminal, had been secured by these victims or their heirs.

I had known of a well-to-do man despoiled of property amounting to \$100,000 by a Supreme Court decision which dismissed his appeal because his lawyers had failed to comply with a rule of court in the preparation of their brief. * * *

One case which I think accurately photographs the Supreme Court of California: The little five-year-old boy of poor parents living on Tenth street, in the city of Oakland, was playing in the street. A street car ran him down and killed him. The evidence showed that the motorman had time to stop his car before striking the boy. The parents recovered judgment in the lower court for \$6,000. * * *

The Supreme Court of California set aside the verdict on the ground that the child would most likely follow the occupation of the father, and that as the father's occupation was rather unprofitable, therefore the child might have proved more expensive than gainful to its parents.*

Not satisfied with depriving the parents of their verdict, the Supreme Court of California added in its opinion this comment on poverty. Quoting from a lawyer whose sentiments, let us hope, will not be perpetuated with his law, it said:

"It has been held that poor parents of infant children are not negligent if they do not prevent their children from straying into the public streets, or upon the lines of highways. * * * But those learned judges fail to give due weight to the consideration that the railway was not responsible for the acts of the parents in bringing the children into the world, nor for that degree of misfortune which retained those persons in a condition of more or less want, and that there is no rule of law nor principle of justice which compels railways to insure the public against the necessary incidents of poverty, nor which

*The award for a child's death through negligence of another is based upon the probable amount of money the child might have earned for its parents before attaining the age of majority.

entitled people, either poor or rich, to make, at the expense of railways, profitable speculations out of the death of the children whom their own negligence of parental duty has exposed to peril."

* * *

The Standard Oil Company has dominated the decisions of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania for forty years.

A Philadelphia lawyer, recently arguing a case before a Massachusetts court, cited as authority one of the decisions of his own state. He was interrupted rather cavalierly, and told by the judge to pass on to some other case. Later he privately asked of the judge an explanation.

"Why, everybody knows," said the Massachusetts judge, "that the decisions of your courts have been so corrupt that no self-respecting court pays any attention to them."

* * *

While I write, a federal judge in New York City fines in the sum of \$25,000 a rich man who had defrauded the Government of some \$1,400,000. At the same time the same judge sentences to three months' imprisonment a minor offender who had defrauded the Government of \$2,500. The rich smuggler had netted \$1,375,000. He was an importer of silks. The Greek who was sentenced to jail was an importer of dates and figs. Were I in the Greek's place I think I should change from figs to silks.

Watch the elevators in our federal buildings, and see the trembling, handcuffed wretches who enter, charged with distilling a hogshead of wine, or some other minor offense. Go then into the office of the district attorneys and watch the trust magnate who has levied unlawful tribute on the nation, in unfettered conference with his lawyers and Government officials—and tell me if this is a land of equal law!

* * *

Twenty-four hours before the Supreme Court of Colorado decided the eight-hour law unconstitutional, the fact was known and discussed among insiders in the lobby of a Denver hotel. A Supreme Court judge in Ohio was publicly charged by Tom L. Johnson with giving foreknowledge of one of his opinions to friends, who gambled on the stock market on the strength of it.

Taft, at Chicago, September 16, 1909, said that such reforms as had taken place, in unjust rules of law, would probably have been long delayed but for the energetic agitations of these questions by the representatives of organized labor.

Frederick R. Coudert of the New York City bar said two years ago in a public speech in Cooper Union: "I have heard of cases—and it is common talk among lawyers—in which \$60,000, \$100,000, and I believe, as high as \$180,000, have been paid for the ermine. With this condition existing, it is easy to understand the state in which our courts are today. The political judge is supposed to take care of organization men; and so it comes about that the enormously profitable receiverships and refereeships are given to men merely because they stand well with the organization."

(d) COURTS OBSTRUCT SOCIAL PROGRESS.

(From the Chicago Tribune, April 11, 1912.)

New York, March 31.—(Special.)—A direct charge that the American judiciary stands in the way of "social and economic progress" is made in the current issue of Bench and Bar by William J. Gaynor, mayor of New York, who formerly was a justice of the New York State Supreme Court.

CITES TENEMENT TOBACCO CASE.

"Let me cite some of the recent judicial decisions which were planted right in the path of economic and social progress.

"The tenement house tobacco case was decided by the Court of Appeals of this state in 1885. Good men and women who went

around alleviating suffering and distress in poor tenements of the overcrowded districts of this city found tobacco being manufactured into its various products in these tenements. They found little children born and brought up in the unwholesome fumes and smells of tobacco. They applied to the legislature and had a law passed forbidding the manufacture of tobacco in such tenements for the future. The court held that it was 'unconstitutional'—that is to say, that the constitution of this state permitted the manufacture of tobacco in poor tenements, and that, therefore, the legislature could not forbid it.

"They professed to find this constitutional provision latent in the general provision in our state constitution that no one shall 'be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law.'

BAKERY LAW HELD VOID.

"Some years later similar good and intelligent influences brought about the enactment of a statute in the legislature of this state for the sanitary regulation of underground bakeries, for the sake of the health of those employed in them and of the community generally.

"It prescribed a list of sanitary safeguards and also that employees therein should not work more than ten hours a day, the work being principally done in the night time.

"The Supreme Court of the United States declared this ten-hour requirement to be unconstitutional, as depriving workmen, without due process of law, of the 'liberty' to work as long hours as they saw fit in underground bakeries.

"The learned court stood 5 to 4. That division certainly showed that the matter was one of great doubt. And yet, notwithstanding a rule which is often repeated by the courts, that they will declare a statute unconstitutional only in a case free from doubt, they declared this statute unconstitutional. The same court has often done the like by a vote of 5 to 4. What is 5 to 4 but a state of doubt in the court?

PROTECTION TO WOMEN DENIED.

"In 1893 the legislature of this state passed a statute that women should not work in factories between the hours of 9 at night and 6 in the morning. This statute was intended to protect the health of women and hence of their offspring.

"It is almost inconceivable that the gentlemen then composing the Court of Appeals of this state found in this humane and benevolent statute an infringement of the 'liberty' of women guaranteed, as they said, by the constitution, to work in factories all night and as many hours as they saw fit.

"It is not at all to be wondered at that such decisions should provoke a widespread dissatisfaction with the courts. The just feeling prevailing the community is that a bench of judges is no more competent than the legislature to decide as to the wisdom or necessity of such laws for the health, safety and progress, and the material and moral welfare of the community. That is a matter of enlightened opinion which the courts have no right to arrogate unto themselves. The courts of England do not do it, nor do the courts of any other country except ours.

RECALL OF DECISIONS NOT NEW.

"I might also refer to the decisions of our Court of Appeals declaring statutes void which provided that employees on state or municipal works under contractors should not be paid less than the prevailing rate of wages nor required to work more than a certain number of hours a day.

"These decisions so exasperated the people of this state that they swept them all out of existence—'recalled' them, if you will—by a constitutional amendment in 1905.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY ACT.

"Now let me mention the decision of the Court of Appeals of this state last year which overthrew the employers' liability statute passed by our legislature the year before. The rule of the common law is that the law casts upon all employees the necessary or inherent risks of the work or business in which they are employed. Some opinions of judges clumsily say that the employee 'assumes' these risks. He does no such thing. He is not consulted about it. The common law casts such risks upon him.

"This statute changed the common law rule in eight enumerated 'especially dangerous' employments and enacted that the said risks should be taken off of the employee and put upon the employer. The legislature thought it had a perfect right to do this and was so advised by the ablest advisers.

"It is pitiful to see such decisions in this country. Every civilized government in the world outside of this country has an employers' liability act, also embracing provisions for the taxation of businesses in which workmen are employed to raise a fund for the payment of such damages for deaths and injuries by accidents."

(e) CORRUPTING THE CHURCH.

(From "The Beast," by Judge Lindsey. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co.)

It was necessary to have a candidate who would give respectability to corruption.

Mr. Evans found his man in the Reverend Henry Augustus

Buchtel, D. D., L. L. D., a minister of the Methodist Church, who was a Chancellor of the Denver University! And after a harmony meeting at which Mr. Buchtel accepted the nomination he invited Mr. Evans' emissaries to rise with him, join hands and sing "Blest Be the Tie That Binds"!

The use of Buchtel in the campaign that followed was a huge success. Everywhere people said to me: "Why, the Chancellor will never stand for the sale of the senatorship to Guggenheim!" Or the "dear Chancellor" will never permit this or that undesirable thing in politics. But Buchtel had already admitted to a ministerial friend that he believed Guggenheim ought to be elected—though he said nothing of it from the platform, you may be sure. After he was Governor, he not only endorsed Guggenheim but vigorously defended the Legislature for electing Guggenheim, honored Evans with a place on the gubernatorial staff and gave a public dinner to the corporation heads who had most profited by the rule of the System in the state. They reciprocated by sending the Denver University handsome donations; Evans led with \$10,000 and Guggenheim, Hughes and others followed with fat checks. * * *

When a petition was recently being circulated to renominate me as Judge of the Juvenile Court, a pastor of one of the most influential churches in Denver refused to sign the petition because I had "offended so many business men." "I can't come out publicly," he said. "I like Judge Lindsey. I think he is right. **But we have to build.**" For the same reason a Denver prelate who was raising money to build a new church wrote to one of his clergy, who was making platform speeches on behalf of the Anti-Saloon League, and ordered him to be silent. The Christian Citizenship Union—during my last non-partisan and non-political campaign for the judgeship—endeavored to obtain the use of a downtown church in which to hold an afternoon meeting in support of my candidacy, at which Father O'Ryan, Rabbi Kauvar and a number of other clergymen were to speak; no such church would allow them to hold the meeting under its roof.

The young men of the Christian Citizenship Union were members of the Y. M. C. A. But an assistant secretary of the Y. M. C. A., during this same non-political campaign, told me frankly that I could not be allowed to speak from the platform of the Y. M. C. A. hall, because, he said, "**we have to get our subscriptions from the business men to run the association.**" Pages 275-276.

Failure of the Church To Do Its Social Duty.

By Washington Gladden.

(Extract from an address at the National Council of the Congregational Churches, Cleveland, Ohio, 1907.)

[The following paragraphs are not from an enemy or opponent of the church. They are from one of its own members and leaders—perhaps one of the best known and most widely respected men in the Protestant Church in America.]

Where was the Christian Church when the grafters were ravaging the cities and the rebate robbers and the frenzied financiers and the insurance sharks were getting in their work? For the most part she has been standing by and looking on, winking her eyes and twiddling her thumbs, and wondering whether she had any call to interfere.

The prophets of old had no such embarrassment in defining their function. Here and there a prophetic voice has been heard, in our own time, but against these monumental injustices with which the nation is now in a life and death grapple, the church has lifted up no clear and effectual protest.

Indeed, she has gathered into her communion many of the

most conspicuous of the perpetrators of these injustices—they are nearly all church members—and has made herself a pensioner upon their bounty, and has been content with preaching to them the “simple gospel” that such men always love to hear!

It is a sad business, brethren, a sad and shameful business; and I am afraid that most of us have had some part in it.

* * * * *

The fact is plainly apparent that the Church has lost her grip on the world, and she is not going to regain it until she finds out what is her real business in the world. Her enfeeblement is due to her failure to grapple with the task assigned her.

* * * * *

What has wrought the ruin of Russia? It is the Church of Russia. The Church of Russia has not only failed to enforce the social teachings of Jesus Christ, she has flatly repudiated them.

The revolution registers the doom of a social order resting on stark egoism, and of a church which stood sponsor for that social order. For us this tragedy holds a note of warning. I do not think that the Church in America is promoting an anti-Christian social order; she is simply permitting it to exist. She must prevent its existence or she will go down in the ruin which it is sure to bring.

Dr. George Chalmers Richmond's Sermon on “Christian Standards in Life” at St. John's Episcopal Church.

(From the Denver Daily Post, April 7, 1913.)

In the Episcopal Church, Mr. Morgan controlled our house of bishops. For years he has prevented our church from declaring her position on the great social and industrial problems of our age so that the Episcopal Church is at the fag end of things. Our church will never progress till about twenty-five rich corporation officers and retired financiers and aristocratic gentlemen who at present control our church go to join Mr. Morgan up above the skies. The sooner they go the better.

5. Commercial Frauds.

(a) WATERED STOCK.

(From Everybody's Magazine, April, 1913. Thomas W. Lawson.)

Sixty billion dollars of the nation's wealth is represented in stocks and bonds. Over \$40,000,000,000 of the \$60,000,000,000 of the stocks and bonds capital is counterfeit. This \$40,000,000,000 represented when issued no accumulated labor—it represented nothing but a brick, and this \$40,000,000,000 fictitious capital is largely owned by 10,000 people who every year receive \$21,000,000,000 interest for it.

Overcapitalization of the Tobacco Trust.

(From “Concentration and Control,” by Charles R. Van Hise, pages 142-143-145. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

At each step in the development of the American Tobacco Company, there was opportunity for increasing its securities, both stocks and bonds; and this was done at each transformation upon a great scale; accrued earnings and good will were capitalized and common stock was issued as a bonus. Each company when taken into a new organization was treated most liberally in the estimate of values, in some cases the amount of bonds issued being double stock previously held. In 1908 the good will of the American Tobacco Company represented a capitalization of \$105,000,000; whereas its cash value according to the Bureau of Corporations was only about \$39,000,000, or 37 per cent. Altogether, the transformations resulted in the enormous capitalization mentioned.

As illustrating the amount of the expansion, it may be said that the capital of one of the constituent businesses of the company in 1885 was \$250,000. When the American Tobacco Company was organized this went in on the basis of \$7,500,000 in stock. By 1908 the readjustment of this amount had reached \$22,000,000; and cash dividends and interest had amounted to \$16,900,000. Thus an original investment of \$250,000 had by 1908 realized in stocks, bonds, dividends and interest \$39,000,000, or one hundred and fifty-six times the value of the business in 1885.

Overcapitalization of the Steel Trust.

(From "Concentration and Control," by Charles R. Van Hise, pages 115-116. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

The capitalization of the United States Steel Corporation, after acquiring the Shelby Company, was as follows:

| | |
|--|------------------------|
| Preferred stock | \$ 510,205,743 |
| Common stock | 508,227,394 |
| Steel Corporation bonds..... | 303,450,000 |
| Underlying bonds | 59,091,657 |
| Purchase-money obligations and real estate mortgages | 21,872,028 |
| Total | \$1,402,846,817 |

As a result of careful investigation, the Commissioner of Corporations concluded that a fair valuation of the entire physical property of the United States Steel Corporation at the time of its organization was \$676,000,000. If the valuation were made upon a basis of the market value of the properties acquired, it would be approximately \$793,000,000, and this figure should include the good will of the going business. Using the higher figure, the capitalization of the United States Steel Corporation exceeded its face value by \$609,000,000. This shows conclusively that the common stock at the time it was issued was all water and that other securities were inflated. Indeed, the managers of the corporation justified their capitalization only by placing the ore deposits at practically one-half of the complete valuation, \$700,000,000, a dollar a ton; which, as any one who was or is familiar with the situation knows, was an excessive valuation in 1901, especially as a large part of the ores are not owned in fee and royalty must be paid to the fee holders. This valuation by the company was later admitted to be excessive, since in 1907 the value placed upon the ore by the company was about 50 cents a ton, which if correct would indicate that the value in 1901 was still lower. The bureau's estimate of the value of the ore at the time of the organization is about \$100,000,000. The comparisons between the estimated value of the properties by the corporation and by the bureau is shown by the following table:

Table 31. Value of Tangible Assets Acquired by Steel Corporation in 1901, as Computed by Bureau, Compared with Estimate of Corporation Submitted in the Hodge Suit in June, 1902.

| Class of Property. | Bureau's estimate of Tangible Value in 1901. | Corporation's Estimate of Tangible Values in 1902. | Difference (1) |
|--|--|--|----------------------|
| Ore property..... | \$100,000,000 | \$ 700,000,000 | \$600,000,000 |
| Manufacturing plants, including blast furnaces | 250,000,000 | 348,000,000 | 98,000,000 |
| Railroad, steamship and dock property | 91,500,000 | 120,340,000 (2) | 28,840,000 |
| Coal and coke property | 80,000,000 | 100,000,000 | 20,000,000 |
| Natural gas property... | 20,000,000 | 20,000,000 | ..... |
| Limestone properties... | 4,000,000 | 4,000,000 | ..... |
| Cash and cash assets... | 136,000,000 | 164,660,000 (3) | 28,160,000 |
| Total | \$682,000,000 | \$1,457,000,000 | \$775,000,000 |

- (1) A part of the differences between the two estimates is accounted for through additions made to property during the interval from April 1, 1901, to July 1, 1902, such additions, of course, being included in the corporation's figures.
- (2) This figure includes \$40,340,000 of indebtedness which was not included in the estimate of the corporation, this addition being made in order to render the estimates comparable.
- (3) In arriving at this figure purchase money obligations and real estate mortgages of \$16,369,000, which were deducted by the corporation, were restored by the Bureau to make the amounts comparable.

Watered Railway Stocks.

(From New York World Almanacs, First Lines, 1892; Second Lines, 1909.)

| | | | |
|---|---------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| A., T. & S. F..... | \$323,332,000 | Missouri Pacific.... | \$98,808,850 |
| Same, 1909 | 527,357,780 | Same, 1909 | 172,278,985 |
| Baltimore & Ohio.. | 58,492,000 | N. J. Central..... | 66,607,000 |
| Same, 1909 | 467,708,259 | Same, 1909 | 80,287,800 |
| Can. Pacific | 112,956,686 | New York Central.. | 157,505,638 |
| Same, 1909 | 161,918,086 | Same, 1909 | 409,046,845 |
| C., B. & Q..... | 187,852,082 | Norfolk & Western. | 95,083,311 |
| Same, 1909 | 293,903,100 | Same, 1909 | 175,313,400 |
| Chicago & Alton... | 30,539,350 | P., C. C. & St. L... | 84,260,100 |
| Same, 1909 | 99,316,100 | Same, 1909 | 112,959,091 |
| C., M. & St. P..... | 197,678,161 | P., Ft. W. & C..... | 46,498,575 |
| Same, 1909 | 255,530,800 | Same, 1909 | 65,324,600 |
| C., R. I. & P..... | 101,333,000 | Pullman Co. | 30,820,000 |
| Same, 1909 | 249,191,600 | Same, 1909 | 100,000,000 |
| Chicago & N. W.... | 175,344,700 | Southern Pacific... | 118,858,170 |
| Same, 1909 | 269,093,600 | Same, 1909 | 312,173,297 |
| Great Northern | 20,000,000 | Union Pacific | 184,701,647 |
| Same, 1909 | 269,713,700 | Same, 1909 | 520,059,200 |
| Illinois Central.... | 71,713,500 | Wabash | 130,000,000 |
| Same, 1909 | 234,986,275 | Same, 1909 | 208,884,346 |
| Mexican Central.... | 102,932,000 | Wheeling & L. E... | 17,119,000 |
| Same, 1909 | 197,711,838 | Same, 1909 | 51,980,400 |
| M., K. & T..... | 120,000,000 | Wisconsin Central.. | 24,000,000 |
| Same, 1909 | 152,600,600 | Same, 1909 | 61,865,105 |
| Total capitalization 24 North American railroads (1 Canadian, 1 Mexican): | | | |
| 1892..... | | | \$2,536,435,765 |
| 1909..... | | | 5,449,204,907 |
| Watered stock..... | | | 2,912,769,142 |
| (Probably 10 per cent of this increase is legitimate, due to the absorption of other properties.) | | | |

Ninety-five Per Cent of Railroad Stock Is Water.

(Special Dispatch to the Chicago Record-Herald, April 23, 1908.)

New York, April 23.—When Thomas F. Ryan was before the special grand jury investigating the affairs of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company, he said that 95 per cent of the stock of all railroad corporations in this country never cost a dollar.

There was great surprise and many of the jurors questioned Mr. Ryan, believing that they had misunderstood, but the only one in the room who manifested no surprise was Mr. Jerome, who, before Mr. Ryan appeared before the jury, had carefully gone over all the testimony with him. * * *

Ryan had figured out that the \$52,000,000 of Metropolitan Street Railway stock represented cash payments of 83½ per cent of its par value. As Mr. Jerome read this statement, Ryan interrupted, saying, "Gentlemen, this is the answer to the statement that has been made for the last five years that the Metropolitan Street Railway stock is all water."

Mr. Jerome promptly came to the witness' rescue, saying: "Mr. Ryan, you have been connected with a large number of corporate ventures, both in street railways and in steam railways, have you not?"

"Yes, sir," answered Ryan.

"And, as a banker, you have been familiar with the capitalization of many of the railroads of this country, have you not?"

"Yes, sir."

"How will that compare—that percentage of water, if you call it such?"

"Ninety-five per cent of the stock of railroad corporations of this country never cost a dollar," was Mr. Ryan's declaration.

"You mean," said Mr. Jerome, "that ninety-five per cent of the stock of the railroads of this country is all water?"

"Yes."

"Please explain," said Mr. Jerome.

"Well," said Mr. Ryan, "the railroads in the last of these great speculative years have put up stock so that it was easy to raise money on stocks and bonds; but up to 1885 ninety-five per cent of all steam railroads and all street railroads and all industrial corporations of this country never put in one dollar on their stock except organization expenses that were required for a few shares of stock in the beginning."

"So, then," said Mr. Jerome, "your experience in these matters is that \$83.50 cash paid in for every \$100 stock is exceptional?"

"Yes, sir. Up to 1878 there was not a dollar paid in on St. Paul, Northwestern, Omaha, or any of these railroads."

Mr. Jerome asked Mr. Ryan for another explanation, but the witness waited until the district attorney put another question.

"If you took these roads as they stand today, including the roads that have been organized and supposed to be put upon a sound basis, taking them as a whole, both in steam railroading and surface railroading, would \$83.50 in cash for every share of \$100 par be a large percentage of cash?"

"A large percentage," replied Mr. Ryan. "Ninety per cent of them haven't had anything. Not only that; in the reorganization that took place from 1900 to 1907, they assessed these stocks and gave bonds."

(b) ADULTERATION OF FOODS.

Extent of Adulteration of Foods.

(From "Mass and Class," by Ghent. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

The extent of the adulteration graft in food has been variously estimated. The editor of the American Grocer, a representative of the trading class, has placed it as low as one per cent. Even at this estimate, the amount paid for fraudulent food by the American public in one year would approximate \$75,000,000. Dr. H. W. Wiley has recently placed the amount of adulteration at 5 per cent. This would mean an annual grafting charge on the public of \$375,000,000. Dr. I. W. Abbott, Secretary of the State Board of Health of Massachusetts, puts it at 10 per cent, or \$750,000,000 yearly.

* * * * *

Despite these laws (in twenty-six states and territories), the adulteration still continues. In New York City, during 1902, of 3,970 samples of milk taken from dealers for analysis, 2,095, or 52.77 per cent, were found to be adulterated.

Well nigh as instructive is the testimony from Ohio. The Dairy and Food Department of that state was created in 1886. After seventeen years of inspections, arrests and prosecutions, adulterations of milk still continue. "Out of 1,199 samples tested by the chemists," says the report for the year ending November 15, 1903, "about one-fourth were found to be either below the required standard in solids and butter fats, or adulterated with that base adulterant known as 'formalin' or 'formaldehyde'" (Eighteenth Annual Report of the Ohio Dairy and Food Commission, 1903, page 8).

* * * * *

Mention may be given to the analysis of a certain "alum baking power" made by Health Commissioner Lederle, in New York City, early in 1902. This powder was widely advertised and sold in large quantities. It was found to contain about 30 per cent of pulverized rock.

"Methyl Alcohol," says the latest report of the New York State Board of Pharmacy, "is commonly recognized to be a very dangerous poison." Taken internally it is known to have caused St. Vitus' dance, paralysis and total blindness. Even when used externally it is exceedingly harmful. Yet in 1903, Dr. Lederle, then the head of the New York City Health Department, found that some forty druggists were using it, not only in spirits of ammonia, but in tincture of ginger.

* * * * *

Dr. Lederle's statement of January 14, 1903, showed that of 373 samples of alleged phenacetin purchased from druggists in Manhattan and Brooklyn, "315 were found to be adulterated * * * Only 58 were pure." (The Health Department, 1903, page 25.)

—W. J. Ghent, "Mass and Class."

Per Cent of Adulteration.

| | Total samples. | Samples passed. | Adul- terated or mis- branded. | Per cent adul- teration or misbrand. |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|---|---|
| Milk | 659 | 289 | 370 | 56.1 |
| Skim-milk | 103 | 19 | 84 | 81.6 |
| Cream | 219 | 110 | 109 | 49.8 |
| Condensed milk | 17 | 3 | 13 | 76.5 |
| Butter | 16 | 2 | 14 | 87.5 |
| Ice cream | 69 | 6 | 63 | 91.3 |
| Meat and fish, 2; hamburger, 4 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 100 |
| Canned foods and dried fruits | 12 | 5 | 7 | 58.3 |
| Vinegars | 7 | 0 | 7 | 100 |
| Extracts | 23 | 7 | 16 | 69.6 |
| Soft drinks | 25 | 23 | 2 | 8 |
| Molasses, syrups and honey | 8 | 5 | 3 | 37.5 |
| Confectionery, 32; candy-making materials, 9 | 41 | 18 | 23 | 56.1 |
| Flour | 4 | 2 | 2 | ... |
| Coffee, spices, etc. | 3 | 3 | 0 | ... |
| Baking powders | 2 | 1 | 1 | ... |
| Olive oil | 3 | 3 | 0 | ... |
| Sanitary inspection, drinking waters | 18 | 6 | 12 | ... |
| Spirits camphor | 34 | 13 | 21 | 61.8 |
| Iodine tincture | 8 | 0 | 8 | 100 |
| Nitre spirits | 5 | 2 | 3 | 60 |
| Patent medicines and drugs | 9 | 3 | 6 | 66.7 |
| Total drugs | 56 | 18 | 38 | 66.1 |
| Totals | 1,313 | 530 | 779 | 59.3 |

(c) FRAUDULENT WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

(From "The Government to the Rescue," by John Dyer, in Good Housekeeping, March, 1911.)

Dr. L. A. Fisher is in charge of the weights and measures department of the Federal Bureau of Standards at Washington. He went to Vermont to attend a conference called by the governor to consider what state legislation was necessary.

"Things were pretty bad in Vermont," said Dr. Fisher. "Perhaps they were no worse than elsewhere; still, in five towns we found that 40 per cent of the scales were incorrect to the extent of 3 per cent or more, and 88 per cent of the errors were against consumers.

"Of 22 balances examined in one town, six showed errors of between 3 and 6 per cent, one between 6 and 9 per cent and one between 9 and 12 per cent.

"Butter is sold in Vermont by the print. There were two popular brands which all dealers carried. One was full weight, the other was an ounce short. In the half-pound prints the shortage amounted to 11 per cent. Both brands sold for the same price. We figured that in a town of 5,000 people, if one-third of the butter sold was short to this extent, the loss to the consumers in a year would be \$1,000.

"Oil is measured out by oil pumps which are supposed to

lift a pint at a stroke. We found these pumps short in quantity delivered as much as 23 per cent.

"In some cases dealers used neither weights nor measures, but filled 'sixteen-pound bags,' and these bags were sometimes 11 per cent short of the correct measure. In one town the shortage measured 12 per cent; in another it reached 17 per cent. Moreover, the bags were made of very heavy paper. The salesmen for the paper houses were wont to tell the grocers, 'You'll find that the bags weigh well and you'll get the cost of them all back.'"

"Another way in which the consumer is cheated is by having the wooden sticks used to spread lamb, pork and beef weighed with the meat. In many cities the butchers have been prosecuted for this form of swindling.

"But there is still another method of beating the consumer. This is in using liquid measures in the sale of dry commodities. The dealer gains about 15 per cent in this way. It is a common practice where there is no inspection. Beans, berries and other similar articles are often sold in this way. When prevented from doing this the dealer will often sell by the cupful, or he will use some other article for a measure.

"How much the public pays for paper, twine, skeiners, spreaders and other things which are weighed in with the goods purchased and charged at the same price is very hard to determine, but take the country over and it probably exceeds \$1,000,000 a year.

"After a careful computation, we have reached the conclusion that the people of Philadelphia pay \$106,000 a year for the wooden trays in which they buy butter. This added to the shrinkage through short weights brings the loss on butter in that city up to \$330,000 a year. The sales of meats amount to about \$30,000,000 a year in Philadelphia, and as the scales were found to average 2.6 per cent short weight, the public lost on this item the considerable sum of \$780,000 in one year. It was probably more, for manipulation of scales in weighing, not taken into account here, is more general than one would suppose.

"And so it went down the whole list from cheese to poultry, from bread to fish, from sugar to lard and tea. It has been conservatively estimated that in Philadelphia alone the consumers paid every year \$2,419,000 for goods they never received at all.

"When our inspectors got to Helena, Mont., they found short weighing general; about 47½ per cent of the scales delivered inaccurate quantities and in three cases out of four they gave short weight. Conditions in Butte were worse than they were in Helena.

"We had a special report from New York on threads. A shortage of 27 per cent is not unusual. Of 538 spools tested we found 8 per cent short from 1 to 37½ per cent and 15 per cent containing about ½ per cent too much.

"We have found loaves of bread weighing only 11 ounces when they were supposed to weigh 16."

(d) ROBBERY OF THE GOVERNMENT ON CHARGES FOR CARRYING MAIL.

(From "Public Ownership of Railways," by Carl D. Thompson.)

The plunder of the mail service is another fraud. In the first place the railroads have managed by one means or another to keep the charges for carrying mail far above every other rate. They get from two to four times as much for hauling mails as they do from the express companies for equal service. In other words, on the basis of what they charge express companies the railroads charge the government from two to four

times what they ought to charge for hauling mails. ("Railways, Trusts and the People," page 139 ff.)

But that is only a part of the story. Besides these exorbitant rates for hauling mails the railroads work another graft. They charge the government an average of \$6,250 per car for the rent on postal cars. Postmaster General Vilas, in his report 1887, page 56 (quoted by Parsons) says: "In other words, in addition to paying rates that are clearly extortionate the railroads get in rentals for the mail cars every year more than the cars are worth." This means a clear robbery of \$5,386,000 per year.

But the climax of the fraud is yet to come. To all the above the railroads add yet another atrocity—they cheat the government by false weight. The contracts for carrying the mails are let on the basis of the estimated weight. To reach this estimate the mails are weighed once every four years. It has been proven that during the period of the weighing of the mails the railroads have resorted to all sorts of fraudulent methods in order to pad the mails and exaggerate the weights. Thousands of pounds of empty sacks are shipped back and forth; "bundles of wire 6 feet high and 6 feet around, bags of seeds, supplies for the army, tons of documents packed in wooden boxes that sometimes require three men to handle, millions of blanks of the Census Office (report of Postmaster General Wanamaker, 1893) are loaded in the mails. In one case 300 sacks of documents weighing from 100-125 pounds were mailed out over a railway system by a United States Senator (J. B. Gordon) and a member of Congress (A. C. Latimer) and deliberately re-mailed over again so as to be weighed and reweighed to increase the total. (Senate Document, 54th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. V, page 27, quoted in "Railways, Trusts and the People," page 147, footnote.)

The total annual loot of the government through the overcharges for the handling of mails is estimated at \$24,000,000. ("Railways, Trusts and the People," page 149.)

6. Waste.

One of the greatest indictments against the capitalist system is its wastefulness. Mr. A. M. Simons, in "Wasting Human Life," (a book that can be obtained from the National Office of the Socialist Party for 10 cents), has given us a most vivid picture of the extent of this waste. Extracts from the book follow.

(a) LOSS FROM INEFFICIENT EQUIPMENT.

In 1910 there were 93,349 establishments with an average annual product of less than \$5,000. These factories were too small to own effective machines, secure the most efficient skill or utilize the mechanical and human energies with the least waste. In these little wasteful establishments, 142,430 wage earners produced an average annual product of \$1,561 each. The two million wage earners in the establishments with an average annual product of over \$1,000,000 each produced \$4,491. Had the workers in the smaller establishments worked with the same efficiency they would have produced three times as much. There were all told 4,599,360 workers in establishments with less than \$1,000,000 product. Some of these were doubtless adequately equipped. Some of them were probably producing as much as in the larger establishments, but the fact that there is a steady declining rate of production from the larger to the smaller shows that as a whole the smaller the industry, the greater the waste.

Had each of these 4,599,360 workers produced as much as each of the two million workers employed in the largest estab-

lishments they would have produced a little over \$19,000,000,000 worth of product in 1909, instead of which they produced only \$11,600,000,000 out of a total of \$20,600,000,000. In other words, had they been working with as efficient instruments as those in the larger factories the total manufactured product would have been increased by something over \$7,000,000,000.

Some one may raise the objection that I am including the "cost of raw material" in the calculation. This does not affect the use of the figures for comparison, unless it would tend to conceal the inefficiency of the small industry, since the great trusts in steel and oil and sugar control the whole process of production from raw material to finished product.

I am going to keep every estimate throughout this discussion down within bounds which the most scrupulous critic can not find grounds to attack; therefore, I am going to estimate that other things remaining equal, the inefficient management and machinery of the smaller factories reduced our annual income by only \$3,000,000,000.

(b) LOSS FROM IDLE FACTORIES.

When the panic of 1907 swept across the country even the steel trust, the most economically managed of any large industry in the world, reduced its output to a little over 40 per cent of its capacity. Many other industries reduced production even more. When the census of 1900 was taken it was found that about 25 per cent of all the factories were idle and this was in time of high prosperity. Remembering the large number of seasonal establishments and those dependent on the whims of trade in other lines and on a multitude of uncertainties inherent in our present system, it is certain that the condition found by the census is far better than the average. However, we will pretend that it is always prosperous under capitalism and say that never more than 25 per cent of the machinery in the manufacturing establishments of America is idle. This means, however, that \$5,000,000,000 less of product is available for the feeding, clothing and housing of men, women and children than there would be if our manufacturing establishments were efficiently managed.

(c) USELESS "SUPERINTENDENTS."

Certainly they spend energy enough in management in the field of manufacture. Out of 7,678,570 persons engaged in manufacturing there are 1,063,532 who were classified as proprietors and firm members and salaried employes. Since the average foreman, shop director, straw boss and several other similarly titled individuals who are supposed to be engaged in the work of superintendency have not yet arisen to the dignity of receiving salaries instead of wages, it is safe to say that at least the million mentioned above are to be counted as superintending. Surely our manufacturing ought to be well done with one man in seven engaged in watching the other people work.

To these salaried employes is paid each year almost \$1,000,000,000, or more than one-fourth as much as is paid to the 6,000,000 wage earners, who are being bossed. Of course, this does not count the more than \$4,000,000,000 that goes in profits to the owners of these various industries.

But the greater mass of the energy of these extremely highly paid superintendents is not used either in inventing new methods of work, in improving production or even in driving the workers to greater exertions. I think that no manufacturer will deny that much more than half of it is used in fields wholly apart from production.

(d) LOSS FROM IDLE LAND.

The census of 1910 found that 878,798,000 acres of land were divided up into farms. Of this, however, only 478,451,000 acres were improved. The rest was still idle. In other words, only 54 per cent of the land that had been set aside, fenced in, registered as private property, and county as farm land was being utilized for the growing of crops. We start in, therefore, with the realization that only a little over half of the land now in farms is made use of for the satisfaction of human wants. Of course, there are great stretches of this territory covered with mountains, lakes, swamps and deserts impossible of irrigation. Very much of this land, however, could be used for game preserves and for the cultivation of crops already known to man which are peculiarly suited to these special areas. The hard, harsh fact stands out, however, that with 75 per cent of our people having less food, clothing and shelter than healthy human animals require, we are using but 25 per cent of our land area for productive purposes.

(e) ANTIQUATED FARMING METHODS.

There is not a single crop produced in the United States which could not be trebled by the general application of the methods already used wherever individual ignorance and personal meddling of management has been suppressed. We will produce this year, according to the estimates of the Department of Agriculture, values of something over nine billions of dollars. Multiply this by three and we have twenty-seven billions of dollars, a waste of eighteen billions by present methods. Nor will I cut one single penny from this estimate, for it has already been reduced to a point where any student of agriculture would say it is extremely conservative.

When we double this acreage with the use of the new machine (and remember we have plenty of room for such doubling) the total agricultural production would be at least \$54,-000,000,000.

(f) THE WASTE OF ADVERTISING.

About ten years ago a writer in *Printer's Ink*, the leading advertising journal of this country, estimated that about two billion dollars was spent each year in various ways that would be designated as "advertising." When we recall the periodicals, catalogues, advertising agents, drummers, demonstrators, signs, billboards, circulars, show windows, expensive decorations, and all the other things that are used to sell rather than to make goods, this estimate will be seen to be very low. It was verified about the same time by another writer in the *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Society*, who made about the same estimate. Since then advertising of every sort has increased at an unparalleled rate. It is certainly half as much more, or close to three billion of dollars today.

That is a little more than seven times the sum we spend on our educational system, public or private, from kindergarten to university.

(g) THE WASTE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

The census takers of 1910 found that 6,468,964, or 22 per cent of all the workers, were unemployed at some time during the year to a sufficient extent to make it worthy for them to report. Since the census did not reach the great mass of the transient unemployed, it is certain that this figure is far too small. Moreover, it was taken in a year of what is commonly called prosperity. Had it been taken in 1895 or 1907 this number would certainly have been doubled.

It is, therefore, far within the limits of fact when we say

that in any average year there are at least four million able-bodied workers, whose only labor is that most nerve-racking toil known as looking for work. If these seekers after a chance to enjoy what the Biblical legend tells us was the primal curse laid upon man, were all brought in one place they would make a city as large as Greater New York. If they brought their families with them they could populate the most populous state in the union with but a portion of their numbers.

In the opening pages of this work we discovered that those laborers who worked for corporations with a million-dollar output or more per year, each produced a little over four thousand dollars' worth of goods annually. If we equip each one of these four million unemployed with equally good machinery, and we certainly have a right to assume that under the social management of industries they would be so equipped, then they would have produced sixteen billion dollars' worth of goods last year.

(h) THE WASTE OF HUMAN LIFE.

At the national conservation congress held in 1912 at Indianapolis, Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale University, said:

"Out of some one and one-half million deaths annually in the United States at least 630,000 are preventable. That means more than seventeen hundred unnecessary deaths a day, or more than the lives lost in the great Titanic disaster. The Titanic disaster spread a pall of gloom over the whole world, while the daily death rate rarely gets a passing comment."

Our present system balances the dollar against the death rate and the dollar wins. So there are 630,000 unnecessary deaths each year. If we figure that the greatest care would have extended these lives an average of ten years each (a period which I shall presently show is a ridiculously small time), we have to deal with a reduction of 6,300,000 in our population. Add this to the 3,000,000 children whose lives are snuffed out every ten years and we have 9,000,000 people whom ten years of giving the death rate a chance against the dollar would add to our population.

A little calculation will show that if these 9,000,000 people were to produce as much as even the least efficient among the manufacturing or farming population they would add some \$18,000,000,000 annually to the wealth of this country.

(i) EXTENDING AVERAGE PRODUCTIVE LIFE 20 YEARS.

Whenever the workers succeed in fighting back the effects of the present system the results are quickly shown in an increased length of life.

This is most vividly set out in some facts presented in a report to the 1912 convention of the Cigar Makers' International Union. Here is a trade that a little over twenty years ago was one of the most unhealthful. The hours were long, the workshops located in cellars and basements and back rooms of cigar stores, unventilated, the air filled with dust, which, with the workers' bent position and lack of exercise, all invited the scourge of tuberculosis.

This union early established an extensive sick and death benefit fund, which enables it to give accurate, detailed, vital statistics of its members.

The union was one of the first to secure the eight-hour day, and in 1888, two years after the work day had been shortened to eight hours, 51 per cent of the deaths of the members were from tuberculosis. In 1911, although the general rate from tuberculosis was rising, only 20.1 per cent were due to the same cause.

As the union grew stronger conditions throughout the trade

were improved. Wages were increased, work shops were cleaned up and made more sanitary. Shortened hours gave an opportunity for leisure. An increased income gave better food, although it must at once be recognized that even at the present time the wages of a cigar maker are scarcely sufficient to maintain a family in any degree of comfort.

But what this gain means, as expressed in terms of life, is shown by the fact that in 1888 the average length of lives of the members who died was thirty-one years, four months and twenty days. In 1900 this had been extended to forty-three years and six months, and in 1911 to fifty years and one month. Almost twenty years has, therefore, been added to the average life of the members of a single trade during a period of twenty-three years.

If at present the productive period of labor averages about twenty years, and this accords with the facts as gathered by the statisticians employed by the defenders of the present society, then, if by so little of improvement as is possible to a modern trade union these productive years can be doubled, then by that familiar mathematical formula of our childhood that "two and two makes four" we know that proper care for health would double our present productive capacity.

Shall we say that this amounts to at least \$10,000,000,000 a year? You will notice that I am throwing in some \$10,000,000,000 for good measure, and saying nothing about the expenses of medical care, nursing and of those last sad rites whose expense is so often a harrowing addition to the sorrow of those who mourn the dead among the poor.

(j) SUMMARY OF WASTED WEALTH.

| | |
|---|-------------------|
| Using imperfect machinery..... | \$ 3,000,000,000 |
| Twenty-five per cent of factories idle, could produce | 5,000,000,000 |
| Waste of coke ovens..... | 50,000,000 |
| Restriction on patents..... | 2,000,000,000 |
| Manufacture of useless and harmful articles..... | 1,000,000,000 |
| Imperfect methods in agriculture..... | 18,000,000,000 |
| Maintenance of fences..... | 1,250,000,000 |
| Lands used for horses..... | 1,000,000,000 |
| Multipled production through application of power | 27,000,000,000 |
| Bad roads | 1,000,000,000 |
| Marketing farm products..... | 4,500,000,000 |
| Advertising | 2,000,000,000 |
| Fire and insurance (unnecessary)..... | 500,000,000 |
| Military and naval expenditures..... | 600,000,000 |
| Unemployed | 8,000,000,000 |
| Individual kitchens and housekeeping plants..... | 1,728,000,000 |
| Possible production of 9,000,000 people needlessly killed | 18,000,000,000 |
| Sickness, exclusive of nursing by families..... | 1,000,000,000 |
| Extending average productive life 20 years..... | 10,000,000,000 |
| Total | \$105,628,000,000 |

The total annual production at the present time is somewhere between twenty and thirty billion dollars, of which labor, including farm owners, receives about one-half.

(k) MINERAL WASTE \$1,000,000 A DAY.

That Mr. Simons has by no means exhausted the enumeration of the sources of waste can be seen by the fact that he makes hardly any mention of the mineral waste in the United States which is estimated by the Bureau of Mines at \$1,000,000 a day.

7. Commercial Failures in U. S. (World Almanac, 1914.)

| Year. | No. of failures. | No. of business concerns. | Pct. of failures. | Amt. of liabilities. | Average liabilities. |
|-----------|------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1880..... | 4,735 | 746,823 | .63 | \$ 65,572,000 | \$13,886 |
| 1881..... | 5,582 | 781,689 | .71 | 81,155,932 | 14,530 |
| 1882..... | 6,738 | 822,256 | .82 | 101,547,564 | 15,070 |
| 1883..... | 9,184 | 863,993 | 1.06 | 172,874,172 | 18,828 |
| 1884..... | 10,968 | 904,759 | 1.21 | 226,343,427 | 20,632 |
| 1885..... | 10,637 | 919,990 | 1.16 | 124,220,321 | 11,678 |
| 1886..... | 9,834 | 969,841 | 1.01 | 114,644,119 | 11,651 |
| 1887..... | 9,634 | 994,281 | .09 | 167,560,944 | 17,392 |
| 1888..... | 10,679 | 1,046,662 | 1.02 | 123,829,973 | 11,595 |
| 1889..... | 10,882 | 1,051,140 | 1.04 | 148,784,337 | 13,672 |
| 1890..... | 10,907 | 1,110,590 | .98 | 189,856,964 | 17,406 |
| 1891..... | 12,273 | 1,142,951 | 1.07 | 189,868,638 | 15,471 |
| 1892..... | 10,344 | 1,172,705 | .88 | 114,044,167 | 11,025 |
| 1893..... | 15,242 | 1,193,113 | 1.28 | 346,779,889 | 22,751 |
| 1894..... | 13,885 | 1,114,174 | 1.25 | 172,992,856 | 12,458 |
| 1895..... | 13,197 | 1,209,282 | 1.09 | 173,196,060 | 13,124 |
| 1896..... | 15,088 | 1,151,179 | 1.31 | 226,096,834 | 14,992 |
| 1897..... | 13,351 | 1,058,521 | 1.26 | 154,332,071 | 11,559 |
| 1898..... | 12,186 | 1,105,830 | 1.10 | 130,662,899 | 10,722 |
| 1899..... | 9,337 | 1,147,595 | .81 | 99,879,889 | 9,733 |
| 1900..... | 10,774 | 1,174,300 | .92 | 138,495,673 | 12,854 |
| 1901..... | 11,002 | 1,219,242 | .90 | 113,092,376 | 10,279 |
| 1902..... | 11,615 | 1,253,172 | .93 | 117,476,769 | 10,114 |
| 1903..... | 12,069 | 1,281,481 | .94 | 155,444,185 | 12,879 |
| 1904..... | 12,199 | 1,320,172 | .92 | 144,202,311 | 11,820 |
| 1905..... | 11,520 | 1,356,217 | .85 | 102,676,172 | 8,913 |
| 1906..... | 10,682 | 1,391,587 | .77 | 119,201,515 | 11,159 |
| 1907..... | 11,725 | 1,417,077 | .82 | 197,385,225 | 16,834 |
| 1908..... | 15,690 | ..... | ... | 222,315,684 | ..... |
| 1909..... | 12,924 | ..... | ... | 154,603,465 | ..... |
| 1910..... | 12,652 | ..... | ... | 201,757,097 | ..... |
| 1911..... | 13,241 | ..... | ... | 186,498,823 | ..... |
| 1912..... | 15,452 | ..... | ... | 203,117,391 | ..... |
| 1913..... | 15,632 | ..... | ... | 250,802,536 | ..... |

8. Underfeeding.

(From The Standard of Living Among Workingmen's Families in New York City, by Robert Chapin, quoted by Louise Stevens Bryant in School Feeding. Published by J. B. Lippincott Company.)

(a) RELATION BETWEEN INCOME AND UNDERFEEDING IN AMERICAN WORKINGMEN'S FAMILIES.

| Annual income. | Total No. Underfed of Families. | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|--------|-----------|
| | families. | Number | Per cent. |
| \$400-\$599..... | 25 | 19 | 76 |
| 600- 799..... | 151 | 48 | 32 |
| 800- 899..... | 73 | 16 | 22 |
| 900- 1099..... | 94 | 8 | 9 |
| 1,100 and over..... | 48 | 0 | 0 |
| Totals | 391 | 91 | 23.2 |

The figures in this table indicate that with less than \$600 a year to spend, an adequate food supply is not provided in three families out of four. On incomes from \$600 to \$800, one family in three is underfed, while less than one-tenth of the families having \$900 to \$1,000 to spend fall short of the minimum allowance for food. The income of \$1,100 for a family of five is apparently a safeguard against underfeeding.

Underfed School Children.

(From Report on Underfed School Children to the Chicago Board of Education, 1908.)

Conditions in Chicago.

Reports from truant officers, principals and teachers, supplemented by visitations of homes in many instances, show that there is an average of 4,664 underfed children attending the schools of Chicago who are habitually hungry from lack of nourishing food. Many often go to school breakfastless, or with such a scant morning meal of dry bread or crackers, that they suffer from malnutrition, and lose interest in study. During

the period of financial depression last year, the County Agent relieved 3,699 families, averaging three children each—a total of 11,097 children, who would otherwise have suffered from starvation. Of these families 880 were deserted women and 2,819 widows who were struggling, without friends or relatives who could aid them. With these figures and the canvas made by truant officers among the school, social settlements, charity organizations and homes as a basis, I estimated the total number of school children in Chicago who do not receive three square meals daily at 15,000. Many are cared for by charity organizations, relatives, church societies, etc., while others, from pride, struggle along on one or two meals per day. A conservative estimate of the number of child victims of malnutrition (who are in immediate need of free breakfast service and who would gratefully accept it) is 5,000. This makes allowance for a few hundred who may not have been reported.

(b) OTHER CITIES.

(From School Feeding, by Louise Stevens Bryant, pages 198-200. Published by J. B. Lippincott Company.)

General public interest in school feeding began with the publication, in 1904, of Robert Hunter's book, "Poverty." In trying to give some estimate of the amount of suffering that must exist as a result of poverty, Mr. Hunter made the statement that there must be "very likely sixty or seventy thousand children in New York City alone who often arrive at school hungry and unfitted to do well the work assigned to them." This statement has received more publicity than any other one sentence in the whole book and it was all too often translated by the newspapers into "70,000 starving children in New York City come breakfastless to school." As a result many so-called investigations were made and most conflicting reports published which alternately refuted, corroborated and outdid Hunter's original statement.

Shortly after the publication of this book, John Spargo undertook to find out by personal investigation the real facts about underfed children in New York City. He first confined his attention to the subject of the usual breakfasts eaten by school children. He was able with the cordial co-operation of principals and teachers to gather fairly reliable information in regard to the breakfasts of 12,800 children, in sixteen different schools.

The method used was as follows: Each child was questioned privately by the class teacher as to what he had for breakfast that day. If he reported no breakfast, the fact was noted, and also if he reported an inadequate breakfast. For this investigation, an inadequate breakfast was defined as one not containing any of the following articles: Milk, eggs, meat, fish, cereal, butter, jam or fruit; it further meant one consisting of coffee or tea, either alone or with bread or cake or crackers. Each teacher reported to the principal the number of children with no breakfast, and those with inadequate breakfasts, omitting so far as possible children of fairly good circumstances whose lack of breakfast was accidental or unusual.

The inquiry revealed the following facts: Of 12,800 children, 987 or nearly 8 per cent, had no breakfast; 1,963 others, or over 15 per cent, had inadequate breakfasts. This made a total of 23 per cent of all the children in those schools who were badly fed, so far as this might be indicated by breakfasts alone.

Mr. Spargo then tried to find out what sort of lunches the children had. He was assured by teachers and principals and by his own observation that many children did not go home at noon, but remained playing about the school yard, with no lunch at all. No exact figures were gathered on this point. From questioning, by the teachers, it was found that anywhere from 10 to 20 per cent of the children were given pennies to

buy their own lunches. He watched what they bought and reports this special illustration as a fair example of their choice in winter. Fourteen children, eight boys and six girls, in one delicatessen store, bought, seven of them pickles and bread, four of them pickles alone, two of them bologna and rye bread, and one pickled fish and bread. On a summer day he saw a group of nineteen buy, six of them pickles, two of them pickles and bread, six ice cream, two bananas, and three candy. Mr. Spargo found that another way the lunch pennies go is in gambling, especially among boys.

In 1906, Dr. Lechstecker, acting for the New York State Board of Charities, examined 10,707 children in the 12 Industrial Schools of the Children's Aid Society. He found that of these, 439 had had no breakfast or coffee alone or with bread. These children, who formed 13 per cent of all examined, showed marked anaemia. Dr. Lechstecker declared that he found that only 18 per cent of all children had started the day with what he considered suitable and adequate meals.

In Buffalo, of 7,500 children in 8 schools, 5,105 reported a breakfast of tea or coffee and bread. The principals in these schools asserted that there were 1,150 or 15 per cent of all examined, who were obviously handicapped by poor nutrition. In Philadelphia, 4,589 children were examined and 189 reported no breakfast, and 2,504, tea or coffee and bread, making a total of 59 per cent coming to school inadequately fed.

In St. Paul, in 1910, Dr. Meyerding, the head of the Medical Inspection, made a special examination of 3,200 children in schools frankly chosen from the poorer district. He found that 644 or 20 per cent of the whole showed marked underfeeding.

As a general conclusion from these investigations it seems fair to place the probable number of seriously underfed school children in New York and other American cities at 10 per cent of the school population.

9. Illiteracy.

(a) ILLITERACY IN GENERAL.

(12th Census of U. S. "Population," Vol. II, page xcvi.)

Of the 6,180,069 illiterate persons in 1900, 955,843, or 15.5 per cent, can read but not write, and 5,224,226, or 84.5 per cent, can neither read nor write.

P. xcix. The population 10 years of age and over, for the mainland of the United States in 1900, numbers 57,949,824, and of this number 6,180,069, or 10.7 per cent, are reported as illiterate.

P. CXIII. ILLITERACY BY AGE.

| | Number. | Per cent of all same age. |
|----------------------|-----------|------------------------------|
| 10 to 14 years | 577,649 | 7.1 |
| 15 to 17 years | 338,602 | 7.4 |
| 18 to 20 years | 382,792 | 8.5 |
| 21 to 24 years | 499,857 | 8.6 |
| 25 to 34 years | 1,103,478 | 9.1 |
| 35 to 44 years | 1,033,591 | 11.2 |
| 45 to 54 years | 943,607 | 14.7 |
| 55 to 64 years | 642,257 | 16 |
| 65 and over | 611,446 | 19.8 |
| Age unknown | 46,790 | 23.3 |

P. 413. Off the 6,246,857 illiterate persons in 1900—
4,882,497 were native born.
1,364,360 were foreign born.

(b) SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Look over the following table and see what capitalism gives us. Over four million children of school age who never go to school at all. Then see how small a proportion reach the higher educational institutions, and think of the vast number who must plod along through life deprived of that great advantage, and are compelled to suffer the privation.

The number of children of school age in the United States is 23,792,723.

Enrolled in all public and private elementary and secondary schools, 18,155,557 (76 per cent).

Completing elementary course, 4,400,000 (18 per cent).

Entering high schools, 3,001,616 (12.6 per cent).

Completing high school course, 819,696 (3.4 per cent).

Entering college, 438,080 (1.84 per cent).

Completing college course, 160,000 (.67 per cent).

—Authority, Professor Kenneth G. Smith, University Extension Division, University of Wisconsin.

10. Disease and Death.

(a) DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF HEALTH AMONG SCHOOL CHILDREN.

An exhaustive investigation has been made into the health of pupils in the public schools, not only in the large cities, but also in rural districts, and in all parts of the country. Dr. Thomas H. Wood, Professor of Physical Education in the Teachers' College of Columbia University, sums up the findings as follows:

Out of the 20,000,000 school children in the United States—

A million have flatfoot, spinal curvature, or other moderate deformities serious enough to interfere in some degree with health;

A million have defective hearing;

Five million have defects of vision;

Six million have adenoids or enlarged tonsils or cervical glands needing attention;

Ten million have defective teeth interfering with general health;

Five million suffer from malnutrition, in many cases due wholly or in part to some of the foregoing defects.

Many children suffer from two or more of the troubles named. In all, 15,000,000 children, three-fourths of the whole number, are in need of attention for physical defects which impair their present learning capacity and which are likely to develop into grave chronic afflictions or to render them abnormally susceptible to dangerous diseases in later years.

In a large proportion of the cases, these defects could have been avoided by proper precautions. In another very large proportion, they can be cured by proper attention. Every year that attention is delayed reduces the chance of cure and increases the lifelong impairment of vitality.

(b) CAUSE OF HIGH INFANT MORTALITY.

(Encyclopedia of Social Reform (1910), page 620.)

Infant mortality in most countries seems upon the increase even where the general death-rate is falling. This is the conclusion arrived at, among others, by Dr. George Newman, in his book "Infant Mortality" (1907). He gives the following table, which shows both the enormous death rate for infants compared with the general death rate, and also for almost all countries an increase in the rate.

INFANT MORTALITY RATE.

| | General death rate. 1893-1902. | Infant death rate. 1883-1892. | 1893-1902. | 1903 |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------|------|
| England and Wales | 17.6 | 144 | 152 | 132 |
| Scotland | 18 | 120 | 127 | ... |
| Denmark | 16.5 | 132 | 133 | ... |
| Russia | 32.9 | 270 | 272 | ... |
| Germany | 21.5 | ... | 195 | ... |
| Prussia | 21.2 | 207 | 199 | 194 |
| Austria | 25.9 | ... | 227 | ... |
| Hungary | 26.3 | ... | 224 | 212 |
| Netherlands | 18.5 | 176 | 152 | 135 |
| Belgium | 18.3 | 161 | 157 | 155 |
| France | 20.8 | 167 | 158 | ... |
| Spain | 23.7 | ... | 190 | ... |
| Switzerland | 18.5 | 160 | 145 | 122 |
| Italy | 23.3 | 209 | 173 | ... |
| Chile | 29.8 | 297 | 333 | 352 |

The causes of infant mortality and of its increase are undoubtedly involved, but Dr. Newman finds them largely antenatal. From his studies in Great Britain he concludes that 30 per cent of the deaths are due to premature birth. This and other antenatal causes he finds largely due to economic causes in the increased stress of modern life, and particularly to the increase of woman's work. Recent German medical investigations have also shown the intimate connection between high infant mortality and woman's work, particularly in mills, working often during advanced pregnancy and too soon after birth. Unhealthy and overcrowded housing among the poorer classes is another fatal cause. Dr. Newman shows this by the following table.

Infant mortality from all causes in houses or tenements of different sizes at the metropolitan borough of Finsbury, London, 1905:

| Size of tenement. | Census population, 1901. | No. of births. | No. of infant deaths. | Infant mortality per 1,000 births |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| One room | 14,516 | 532 | 117 | 219 |
| Two rooms | 31,482 | 1,216 | 192 | 157 |
| Three rooms | 21,280 | 468 | 66 | 141 |
| Four rooms and over | 33,185 | 464 | 46 | 99 |
| Institutions, deaths and births not traced | 1,000 | 206 | 8 | 39 |
| The borough | 101,463 | 2,886 | 429 | 148 |

Mr. B. Seeborn Rowntree found the same in New York in his investigations in 1898, as is seen by the following:

("Poverty, a Study of Town Life," 1901.)

| Area. | Infant mortality rate. | General death rate. | Death-rate over 5 years of age. |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Area 1, poorest working class.. | 247 | 27.7 | 13.8 |
| Area 2, middle working class.. | 184 | 20.7 | 10.2 |
| Area 3, highest working class.. | 173 | 13.4 | 7.5 |
| Servant-keeping class | 94 | | |
| City of New York as whole.... | 176 | 18.5 | 11.1 |

Infant Mortality.—Of the 196,534 deaths of children under five which occurred in 1910, 52,516 occurred before the age of two years, and were due to diarrhoea and enteritis. It is known that from 80 per cent to 90 per cent of all infants dying from gastro-intestinal diseases were bottle fed.—American Year Book for 1911, page 411, Comment on Poisoned Milk.

Dr. L. Emmett Holt, the great specialist of New York, in the "Journal of the American Medical Association," for February 26, 1910, says:

"All who practice medicine among children and who study the question of infant mortality statistically are struck with the marked contrast between the death rate of the children of the poor and those of the rich. Clay estimates that in England in the aristocratic families the mortality of the first year is 10 per cent; in the middle classes 21 per cent, and in the laboring class 32 per cent."

Similar conditions prevail in New York. Thus a recent study of the New York Health Department records for two typical summer weeks showed remarkable facts: (1) that in 28 fashionable blocks with a population of 7,561 people no babies died during the last two weeks of July, 1907; (2) that in five fairly well-to-do blocks with a population of 7,696 no babies died during the same period; (3) that in three tenement blocks with a population of 7,858 sixteen babies died during this same period.

11. Panics.

About once every ten years the capitalist system has broken down. Panics, crises and periods of depression have come in which the whole industrial system is thrown out of gear, banks fail, factories close, mines shut down, the workingmen by the thousands are thrown out of work, poverty, distress and measureless suffering prevails throughout society.

1720. The first crisis of the modern type occurred over the speculative plans of John Law in forming his Mississippi Company. His company possessed, in 1719, over 21 ships and nearly 1,000,000. Shares went up many times their value. Speculation developed like a fever in France and England. About the same time, too, the South Sea Bubble was developed in England.

1783-93-95. Panics occurred in connection with the American and French wars.

1815. There was a severe crisis at the close of the Napoleonic wars. After the peace England undertook to flood Europe with manufactures, but there was OVERPRODUCTION and a crisis.

1825. There was another crisis, which affected America also.

1837. There was a most severe crisis in the United States, renewed in 1839, when 959 banks stopped payment. There were 33,000 failures, with an aggregate loss of \$440,000,000.

1847. The crisis affected England more, being occasioned by the failure of the potato crop of 1846.

1857. The crisis began in America, but affected England and all Europe more severely.

1866. The crisis was mainly in England, once more causing a suspension of the Bank Act, and was marked by the memorable "Black Friday," and by the failure of the most historic house of Overend, Gurney & Co. The 23d of September, 1869, saw a "Black Friday" in New York, but it was mainly local and connected with gold speculation.

1873. The general prosperity of the United States seemed undiminished, but on September 18, 1873, the most extraordinary panic began which this country has ever witnessed, and reached its height about the middle of October. It prostrated thousands of commercial houses, cut off the wages of hundreds of thousands of workmen and overthrew the Stock Exchange. It swept down the entire banking system of the country. Even savings banks closed their doors. It broke off the negotiation of American securities in Europe, and prostrated business in every way.

1884. Another crisis occurred, though of less serious character, and depression prevailed through strikes and industrial troubles, which continued until 1886.

1890. The crisis followed the period of depression from 1888. Prominent English houses which had invested in Argentine Republican and African securities were disturbed, and finally on December 15th even the great house of Baring Bros. suspended. In France the great coffee syndicate failed. * * *

It affected the United States almost as much, though not so much in the form of a crisis as of adding to depression, continually without much improvement to the crisis of 1893.

1893. Crisis was different in many ways from all other crises. It was only very slightly due to overspeculation, almost purely of monetary conditions, yet it affected not only financial circles but industry all over the United States. * * *

The mines of Colorado and other silver states were at once stopped, and their workmen left unemployed. There was a panic. Western and Southern banks began to fail. Hoarding set in, even in the East. Currency became scarce. Many manufacturing factories shut down. Wealthy men with unquestioned credit could not get checks cashed. All the banking centers except Chicago began to have recourse to clearing-house certificates. There was a money dearth. * * *

Of the 301 bank suspensions from May 1st to July 22d 93 per cent were in the South and West. Yet the business failures from April 1st to October 1st were 8,105, against 4,171 for those months in 1892, with liabilities of \$284,663,624, against \$41,110,-

322 for 1892. Thus the number of failures had doubled and the liabilities had increased nearly seven fold. Three great railway systems were sent into the hands of receivers: the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific and the Erie.

12. Crimes, Insanity and Suicides.

(a) CRIME.

Extent of Crime in the United States.—Nothing has been done by the government as yet to treat the subject of crime scientifically, although an editorial in the "American Lawyer" of New York says that \$600,000,000 is the annual tribute which society pays to crime in the United States. This probably includes the cost of the judicial department, together with the cost of operating of police and penitentiaries and the houses of correction.

Number of prisoners confined in prisons and jails, January, 1912 113,579
 Number committed to prisons or jails during the year 1910. . 479,763

The government report for 1904, based upon cities with a population of more than 8,000, states the number of arrests for the year to be 1,386,784. There were 150,000 sentenced to imprisonment. This does not include sentences to the bridewell or workhouse.

Cost of Crime.—There are no government statistics estimating the entire cost of the criminal class in the United States. We therefore take as a basis the crime cost in the State of Massachusetts for 1908, which was \$1,156,000, or 21 per cent of the state tax; to this should be added county and city expenses. The only single expenditure equaling the expense for crime was the expenditure for education. We emphasize the fact that this expense does not include the expenditure of different cities, but only that of the state. For instance, the city of Boston paid for police \$1,143,847; for the courts, \$300,000, for reform school, \$280,067. To this should be added the local crime expense of \$415,453, which makes the total cost of crime paid by the city of Boston, \$3,039,667. At the tax rate for 1908, which was \$10.50, more than one-eighth was spent on account of crime. Warren F. Spaulding, secretary of the Massachusetts Prison Association, says:

The cost of housing our criminals is a very large one. The official valuation of state property so used in Massachusetts is \$4,933,163. The state penitentiary houses 795 prisoners, in an institution valued at \$1,232,500, including shops and houses for some offices—an average of \$1,550 per inmate. The Massachusetts Reformatory is valued at \$1,381,498.37. Its 929 inmates were cared for at a cost of \$1,487 per capita. The Reformatory Prison for Women had buildings and equipment valued at \$493,705, an average of \$2,887 for each of its 171 prisoners. (It was built for a much larger number, and if it were full, the per capita would be much lower.)

The total valuation of all the county prisons is nearly \$7,000,000, excluding furnishings; that of the state penal and reformatory institutions nearly \$5,000,000. That is, the taxpayers are maintaining their prisoners in institutions which have cost nearly \$12,000,000 in cash actually paid out—a real estate investment made for them by the authorities, which yields no income whatever, but is a constant expense for maintenance, repairs, etc. To this must be added the cost of police stations, court houses, etc., used for arrested criminals in process of conviction—another enormous investment of the money of the taxpayers.

The figures which have been given are not guesses or estimates. They are from official reports, and, as has been said,

they are far below the actual cost of crime—even the direct cost, to say nothing of the indirect expense. The Massachusetts expense is larger than it is in some other states. The number of arrests is larger, because the standard is higher, and thousands are taken into custody, in the interest of public order, who would not be arrested elsewhere.

The crime cost of Massachusetts may or may not be a sound basis for an estimate of that of other states, but one cannot be far from the truth if he estimates that ten per cent of all the money raised by taxation in this country is spent upon criminals.

There are other items which also enter into the cost of crime, and of which no mention has been made, such as the loss of wages, on account of acting as witnesses, the actual amount of which we know is several millions of dollars.

Using the figures of the State of Massachusetts as a basis for the entire country, the total cost would be as follows:

| | |
|---|------------------|
| Total cost in Massachusetts (1908)..... | \$6,671,222.00 |
| Est. population Massachusetts (1908)..... | 3,145,048 |
| Cost per capita | \$2.09 |
| Population of United States (1910)..... | 91,972,266 |
| Total cost of crime in United States..... | \$192,222,035.94 |

Intemperance and Crime.—According to the Massachusetts report of the Board of Prison Commissioners, you cannot attribute crime to intemperance, as their report shows that of those committed during the year 1910 to the state prison and reformatory, there were (males) 191 intemperate and 589 temperate.

Statistics Concerning Crime.—The United States Census Report of 1904 classifies the per cent distribution, by previous occupations, of male prisoners committed during 1904 as follows:

| | |
|---|-------|
| All occupations | 100.0 |
| Professional | .9 |
| Clerical and official | 2.1 |
| Mercantile and trading | 2.6 |
| Public entertainment | .7 |
| Personal service, police and military..... | 1.8 |
| Laboring and servant | 50.1 |
| Manufacturing and mechanical industry..... | 23.7 |
| Agriculture, transportation and other out door..... | 17.2 |
| All other occupations | .9 |

The literacy of prisoners committed during 1904, as follows:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| Literate | 83.0 per cent |
| Illiterate | 12.6 per cent |
| Can read but not write..... | 1.1 per cent |
| Can neither read nor write..... | 11.5 per cent |
| Literacy not stated | 4.3 per cent |

The Census further shows that the number of foreign born prisoners is 23.7 per cent against 76.3 per cent of native born, and these percentages give little support to the popular belief that the foreign born contribute to the prison class greatly in excess of their representation in the general population.

The distribution by classes of offenses of prisoners enumerated in 1904 Census:

| | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| Against society | 21.7 per cent |
| Against the person | 31.8 per cent |
| Against property | 45.5 per cent |
| Double crimes | .2 per cent |
| Unclassified | .2 per cent |
| Offense not stated | .7 per cent |

Crime Increasing.

(From the St. Louis Post Dispatch, quoted in The Southern Light, Shreveport, La., December 20, 1913.)

"In relation to the increase of population there are two and one-half times as many persons in the prisons of the United States as there were 50 years ago, figured on a per capita basis. Yet in Great Britain there has been nearly a 50 per cent de-

crease in the same time, although there has been a 50 per cent increase in population."

These figures have to do only with persons actually convicted and punished for crime. H. C. Weir, an investigator of note, in an article printed in the Literary Digest, February 12, 1910, declared that there are annually in the United States 250,000 members whom the law never touches.

Bad as that is, it is not the worst economic feature of the situation. The late J. P. Altgeld, governor of Illinois, estimated in an address that in addition to the regular police and detectives there are about 70,000 constables, 70,000 magistrates, 12,000 deputy sheriffs and 2,000 sheriffs who, together with the grand jurors, petit jurors, judges, clerks, lawyers, jailers, wardens, guards, prison attendants, etc., make up a conservative estimate of 1,000,000 persons who derive an average annual income of about \$1,500 each, out of the apprehension, conviction and detention of criminals. The estimated total number of regular policemen in the United States is 300,000. At an average \$1,000 salary the average annual payroll for policemen is \$300,000,000.

Adding to this mighty army the 132,857 prisoners in this country, we have a force of 1,132,857 men. Beside such a force the mightiest armies of history, the combatants in any of the world's greatest battles, from Crecy to the fall of Adrianople, would be a pitiful corporal's guard in comparison.

(b) SUICIDES AND INSANITY.

According to various authorities, crime and insanity annually prevail in the United States as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------|
| Homicides and murders | 10,774 |
| Suicides | 15,000 |
| Insane | 139,000 |

13. Prostitution and White Slavery.

(a) EXTENT OF—IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Extent of Prostitution in the U. S.—(Encyclopedia of Social Reform—Bliss.)—At the National Purity Congress in Baltimore (Oct., 1895) it was stated that the number of prostitutes in the United States was over 230,000, and that this implied at least 1,150,000 prostitute men, which is probably far under the truth. Mrs. Kate R. O'Hare, a rescue mission worker of many years' experience, estimates ("The Worker," May 26, 1906) 600,000 public prostitutes in the U. S., and possibly as many more who sacrifice their chastity in connection with some other means of livelihood.

Extent in New York City.—In a paper prepared for the World's Congress on Social Purity, held in Chicago in June, 1893, Hon. Elbridge T. Gerry states that Superintendent Byrnes, of the police department, and himself prepared notes with exactly the same results, and, viewing the matter from two different standpoints, they were agreed that the number of prostitutes at that time in New York City was at least 40,000.

Extent in Chicago.—The Vice Commission of Chicago, in its report, estimates that there are approximately 5,000 professional prostitutes in that city who do nothing else for a living. (The Social Evil in Chicago, p. 34.)

The same report estimates that the gross revenues from the social evil in that city amount to \$20,000,000 per year.

Summary of Annual Profits from the Business of Prostitution in the City of Chicago.

(Chicago Vice Commission Report—1911, p. 113.)

| | |
|---|--------------|
| Rentals of property and profits to keepers and inmates.. | \$ 3,467,689 |
| Sale of liquor, disorderly saloons only..... | 4,307,000 |
| Sale of liquor in houses and flats, and profits of inmates on commissions | 2,915,760 |

Total\$15,699,449

Gross revenues from prostitution in Chicago, 1906, \$20,000,000
Number of professional prostitutes, 10,000.

(b) PROSTITUTION AN ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

(Twentieth Century Socialism—Edmund Kelly. Published by Longmans, Green & Compnay.)

Prostitution, however, is not a sex problem, but an economic problem. A woman does not receive money payment except for economic reasons. If the economic pressure is removed she may become licentious, but she will not be a prostitute. Chastity ought to be a purely moral or social question, not an economic one. The competitive system makes it economic, and of all the crimes imputable to the competitive system, this is the greatest, for it directly perverts not only the human body, but the human soul. * * *

This evil, like all evils that arise from the competitive system, is not incidental or occasional, but inherent and necessary. It cannot be better stated than by Miss Woodbridge, secretary of the Working Women's Society, in a report made to the society on May 6, 1890:

"It is a known fact that men's wages cannot fall below a limit upon which they can exist, but woman's wages have no limit, since the paths of shame are always open to her. The very fact that some of these women receive partial support from brothers or fathers and are thus enabled to live upon less than they earn, forces other women who have not such support either to suffer for necessities or seek other means of support."

The extent to which wages are reduced below starvation rates is also stated as follows:

"The wages, which are low, are often reduced by excessive fines, the employers placing a value upon time lost that is not given to service rendered. The salaries of saleswomen range from \$2.00 to \$18.00, but the latter sum is only paid in rare instances in cloak and suit departments. The average salary in the best houses does not exceed \$7.00 and averages \$4.00 or \$4.50 per week. Cashiers receive from \$6.00 to \$15.00, averaging about \$9.00. Cash girls receive from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per week, though we know of but one store where \$2.50 is paid. In the Broadway stores boys are employed usually on commission. The average salary of one large shop for saleswomen and cash girls is \$2.40, another \$2.90, another \$3.10; but in the latter the employees are nearly all men and boys. We find in many stores the rule to fine from 5 to 30 cents for a few minutes' tardiness. In one store all women who earn \$7.00 are fined 30 cents for 10 minutes' tardiness. Cash girls who earn \$1.75 per week are fined 10 cents for 10 minutes' tardiness."

It is hardly necessary to comment on a wage to saleswomen varying from \$2.40 to \$3.10 a week, and this liable to reduction by fines. It will be observed, too, that owners of department stores are compelled by the pressure of the market to seek this half-supported help.

The Economic Causes of Prostitution.—What is the situation today in Chicago? In detail this may be learned in the first chapter of this report; as a summary we call especial attention to the facts which follow:

Prostitution a Commercial Business.—The first truth that the Commission desires to impress upon the citizen of Chicago is the fact that prostitution in this city is a **COMMERCIALIZED BUSINESS** of large proportions with tremendous profits of more than fifteen millions of dollars per year, controlled largely by men, not women.

In juxtaposition with this group of professional male exploiters stand ostensibly respectable citizens, both men and women, who are openly renting and leasing property at exorbitant sums, and thus sharing, through immorality of investments, the profits from this **BUSINESS**. A business which demands a supply of five thousand souls from year to year to satisfy the lust and greed of men in this city alone. * * *

Sources of Supply.—Wherever there is a demand, artificial or otherwise, there must be a supply. In another part of this report the conservative estimate is made that there are about five thou-

sand professional prostitutes in Chicago. Medical men affirm that the average life of these women for service is from five to seven years. Thus it follows that fresh young girls must be continually supplied to take the place of those who die or are rendered useless by disease. Where do these new victims come from? Is the demand supplied?

From the mass of evidence we learn that the path that leads down to disease and death is constantly filled with young recruits who go stumbling on blinded by the want of necessities of life, by a desire for some simple luxuries, by ignorance, by vain hopes, by broken promises, by the deceit and lust of men.

The Immigrant.—The immigrant woman furnishes a large supply to the demand. Generally virtuous when she comes to this country, she is ruined and exploited because there is no adequate protection and assistance given her after she reaches the United States. * * *

Bad Home Conditions.—The subject under consideration should bring forward most prominently, too, the fact that supply comes largely from bad home conditions and lack of recreational privileges. * * *

The Economic Side of the Question.—The life of an unprotected girl who tries to make a living in a great city is full of torturing temptations. First, she faces the problem of living on inadequate wages. Six dollars a week is the average in mercantile establishments. If she were living at a home where the mother and sister could help her with mending, sewing and washing, where her board would be small, perhaps only a dollar or two towards the burden carried by the other members of the family—where her lunch would have come from the family larder—then her condition might be as good as if she earned eight dollars per week. * * *

Hundreds, if not thousands, of girls from the country towns, and those born in the city but who have been thrown on their own resources, are compelled to live in cheap boarding and rooming houses on the average wage of six dollars. How do they exist on this sum? It is impossible to figure it out on a mathematical basis. If the wage were eight dollars a week, and the girl paid two and a half dollars for her room, one dollar for laundry, and sixty cents for car fare, she would have less than fifty cents left at the end of the week. That is provided she ate ten-cent breakfasts, fifteen-cent luncheons and twenty-five-cent dinners. But there is no doubt that many girls do live on even six dollars and do it honestly, but we can affirm that they do not have nourishing food or comfortable shelter, or warm clothes, or any amusement, except perhaps free public dances, without outside help, either from charity in the shape of girls' clubs, or friends in the country home.

Prostitution demands youth for its perpetration. On the public rests the mighty responsibility of seeing to it that the demand is not supplied through the breaking down of the early education of the young girl or her exploitation in the business of the world. **What show has she in the competitive system which exists today?** Whatever her chances may be to stand or fall, she is here in hordes in the business world as our problem. Let us do something to give her at least a living wage. If she is not sufficiently skilled to earn it let us mix some religious justice with our business and do something to increase her efficiency which she has never been able to develop, through no fault of her own.

Are flesh and blood so cheap, mental qualifications so common and honesty of so little value that the manager of one of our big department stores feels justified in paying a high school girl, who has served nearly one year as an inspector of sales, the beggarly wage of \$4.00 per week? What is the natural result of such an industrial condition? Dishonesty and immorality, not from choice, but from necessity—in order to live. We can forgive the human frailty which yields to temptation under such conditions, but we cannot forgive the soulless corporation which arrests and prosecutes this girl—a first offender—when she takes some little articles for personal adornment.—From the Vice Commission of Chicago, 11-9-'11.

Economic Basis of Prostitution.—It is a sad and humiliating admission to make at the opening of the twentieth century, in one of the greatest centers of civilization in the world, that in numerous instances it is not passion or corrupt inclination, but the force of actual physical want that impels young women along the road to ruin.

Intimate contact in tenement houses is a predisposing cause to prostitution.—Homes Commission Report, Page 227 (Chicago).

PROF. GRAHAM TAYLOR, analyzing the report of the CHICAGO VICE COMMISSION in the "SURVEY" for May 6, 1911, says:

"The sources whence these 24,320 women and girls (prostitutes) were drawn into vice included bad or uncongenial homes; low wages, insufficient either for proper maintenance or to relieve the monotony of constant toil; the pursuit of pleasure and the want of provision for recreation; procuring, through many agencies; involuntary entrance upon or continuance in white slavery; subnormality."

JANE ADDAMS says: "Subnormality is, except in very rare instances, the result of poverty." * * *

The Vice Commission report of Chicago says (p. 199):

"The whole tendency of modern life, which places a greater strain on the nervous system of both men and women of all classes

man has ever been placed at any time in the history of the civilized world, cannot but, to a great extent, develop considerable roticism."

Mass. Legislative House Doc. (page 1868, No. 38) says:

"The effect of overwork on morals is closely related to the injury to health. Laxity of moral fibre follows physical debility. When the working day is so long that no time is ever left for a minimum of leisure or home life, relief from the strain of work is sought in alcoholic stimulants and other excesses."

Results of an investigation made by the Massachusetts State Bureau of Labor Statistics to determine how far the entrance of women into the industrial world under the disadvantage of low wages, was contributing to profligacy. The Bureau gathered statistics of the previous occupations of nearly 4,000 fallen women in 28 American cities.

Eight hundred had worked at low wages.

Five hundred had been garment workers.

One hundred and sixteen came from department stores.

One thousand two hundred and thirty-six, or nearly 32 per cent, reported no previous occupation.

One thousand one hundred and fifteen had been domestic servants.

In writing upon this subject in Pearson's Magazine for February, 1911, at page 178, Richard Barry refers to a census taken last year by the Woman's Trade Union League of Chicago, which showed that "from 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the women employed in the department stores were not receiving sufficient money to enable them to procure the necessities of life." * * *

(P. 203.) And again, Mr. Barry calls attention to the work of a New York home for women, the matron of which is said to have declared that "16 per cent of the girls who applied there for refuge have entered a life of immorality in the greatest city in the country because of insufficient wages, which do not allow them to pay for food and lodging." (P. 204.)

Extracts from "THE SOCIAL EVIL IN CHICAGO—A Study of Existing Conditions with Recommendations by the Vice Commission of Chicago (Dean Walter Sumner, Chairman) (Started January, 1910), 1911."

The report of the Chicago Vice Commission (p. 170) reports that upon investigation of the causes of thirty inmates for entering a life of prostitution, twelve were on account of economic conditions, or 40 per cent.

"Overwork is the fruitful source of innumerable evils. Ten and eleven hours daily of hard labor are more than the human system can bear, save in a few exceptional case. * * * It cripples the body, ruins health, shortens life. It stunts the mind, gives no time for culture, no opportunity for reading, study or mental improvement. It leaves the system jaded and worn, with no ability to study. * * * It tends to dissipation in various forms. The exhausted system craves stimulants. This opens the door to other indulgences, from which flow not only the degeneracy of individuals, but the degeneracy of the race."—(P. 24) Relations Between Labor and Capital. U. S. Senate Committee, 1883. Vol. I.

In the State of Kentucky there are 47,000 working women who earn only \$5.50 a week, and there are 3,000 women in the tobacco industry who earn only \$4.50 a week. Investigations show that \$6.50 is the least that a woman can live decently on. Mrs. Glendower Evans, of the Minimum Wage Commission, appointed last year (1911), in Massachusetts, sets forth facts taken from the Federal Labor Report which illumine this topic. Of the store women investigated, 4.8 per cent had insufficient food or housing, or both. These women were earning on an average a weekly wage of \$5.31, and the average cost of necessities, such as rent, food, light, heat and laundry was \$4.35, leaving less than \$1.00 to cover other necessities. Of a group of 1,568 women workers in Boston, 62 per cent had no margin whatever to spend on amusement. Every penny went to—"just live." In that city half the women adrift, a matter of 20,000 or more, were living in lodging and boarding houses, and two-thirds of these, that is, between 13,000 and 14,000 girls and women, had to entertain their friends, men as well as women, in their bed-rooms. * * * The Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Minimum Wage Boards presented the analysis and the facts concerning the wages of 15,807 women engaged in four of the leading industries of Massachusetts. Some of these women were earning less than \$4.00 a week, many less than \$5.00, and most of them between \$5.00 and \$6.00 a week. —Review of Reviews, May, 1912 (pp. 439-440).

(From the Miners' Magaine, March 27, 1913.)

"Less than 25 per cent of the unfortunate women in this country would have fallen if they had had an equally good chance to lead a pure life.

"Poverty, low wage, improper home conditions, lack of training, craving for amusement and pretty things, are responsible for their fall."—John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

"The chief cause of the social evil is to be found in our social and industrial conditions. If women and girls were paid a living salary there would be very few women on the streets. Here in New York some of those making the greatest noise

on the subject are men who pay starvation wages to women and girls. One of the set of men who own three of the biggest department stores in the city, where girls are paid from \$2.50 to \$10.00 a week, is swaggering around, saying how he is going to spend millions to stop white slavery, as some people call it. My opinion is that he ought either to raise his wages or shut up."—Ex-Mayor Gaynor of N. Y.

Department of Justice On Causes of White Slavery and Prostitution.

(From the Chicago Tribune, May 22, 1914.)

(By a staff correspondent.)

Washington, D. C., May 21.—(Special.)—The department of justice today took issue with the special committee of the Presbyterian general assembly on the causes of the social evil.

The Presbyterian committee reported that there are 100,000 white slaves in this country. The department of justice says there are far more than 100,000.

The Presbyterian committee counted among the causes of social vice the present styles in women's clothes, the trend of present day literature, the character of modern dances, and the growing demand for more intimate knowledge of sex questions.

The department of justice says that commercialized vice is attributable to two causes in 90 per cent of the cases which have come to its attention. One is the poverty of the girl; the other is the desire of the persons who prey on girls for financial gain.

Never Blamed Clothes.

"There has never been a case in the department's history that I know of," said one investigator after reading the Presbyterian report, "where a girl has attributed her fall to the clothes she wore, the dances she has danced, or the books she has read. There have been cases where girls have envied the clothes other women wore and fell because of a desire to acquire fine things they could not get in any other way; also, there have been many cases where evils which go with dancing, such as drinking, have led a girl to her ruin. But clothes, dancing, and reading have not caused the downfall of any girls that we know of, though dance halls have. It isn't the style of dancing, but the environment at dances which does the work there.

"Commercialized vice, however, is founded on one basis and one alone; the desire of people to profit. At first of course the girl may think she is in love, and that fine things come as a result of a man's true affection. We all know of such cases, but the foundation of commercialized vice is the profit in it. Rob it of that, create better economic conditions in the honest walks of life, and vice as a commercial element in our civilization will be wiped out.

Nearly All Poor Girls.

"The present extreme modes in clothes may attract men, and the discussion of sex questions by modern writers, and the extreme dances all may attract some persons of both sexes. But these persons are not the ones who ever become patrons or victims of commercial vice. Practically 100 per cent of the victims of the white slave traffic are poor girls. The per cent of those who are not poor is so small as to be almost infinitesimal."

The Relation of Poverty and Immorality.

(From Senate Document No. 645. Vol. XV. Pages 93-94.)

Poverty, whether it be the result of a low family income, or of insufficient wages for a girl living by herself, touches the question of immorality in many ways. It decides the girl's

companionships, her amusements, her ability to gratify without danger her natural and reasonable tastes, her very capacity for resistance to temptation. Its physical effects open the way to moral dangers. It means overcrowding and bad sanitary conditions, and undernutrition or malnutrition, and insufficient or unsuitable clothing. A social worker with eight years' experience in one of the leading factory centers thus summarized the situation.

Between the crowding and bad air, both at home and at their work, and the kind of food they eat, and the long hours and monotony of their employment, they are constantly in an abnormal state. They are feverish and uncomfortable; they want something, but they don't know what it is. They crave, with an intensity we can hardly realize, something to make them forget their discomfort, to divert their minds from the weariness of their lives. That is why they flock to those cheap amusement places, which are the only ones they can afford. There they find temptation on every hand, and they are in poor condition to resist it. The great wonder to me is that so few yield. It's not only the girls' wages which must be taken into consideration; it's the family income and the whole way of working and living. Part of it could be improved if the girls knew more about housekeeping and cooking, but much of it couldn't be unless the family income were considerably increased. When girls are not living at home, conditions are apt to be even worse for life on their wages means unceasing struggle and privation. Practically, though, all the girls here live at home or with relatives.

(c) ONE GIRL'S CASE.

(From The Chicago Tribune, September 20, 1913.)

Breakfast—Coffee and rolls.

Dinner—Beef stew, milk, rice pudding.

Supper—Fruit salad, graham crackers, and milk.

A reporter for The Tribune yesterday submitted the above menu to an expert on food values who is a graduate of many colleges and knows exactly what he is talking about. The reporter wanted to know whether or not they embrace the elements necessary to the support of human life.

The learned man responded that they are full to satiety with fats, proteids, and carbohydrates. In fact, he said, they form a regimen that is positively Lucullan.

"Why," he added, "there are lots of people in Chicago who live on just that."

The reporter is not equipped to attack Science in her lair. Nevertheless, he knows that the expert is utterly and tragically mistaken. Whatever such a diet's chemistry may be it lacks one vital essence—something to make the consumer's life worth living. He knows it because he has investigated the case of Selma Peterson.

The girl was found yesterday afternoon at her room at 519 Lincoln Parkway. The place was full of gas because she had left the jet open. She was taken to the county hospital, where she was revived, made an ante-mortem statement, and died. Her career having thus expeditiously terminated, a clerk in the coroner's office proceeded to write her obituary. It read as follows:

Selma Peterson, 19 years old. Suicide at 519 Lincoln parkway by gas asphyxiation. No relatives. Cause unknown.

The last entry, suggesting mystery prompted investigation. A visit to Selma's little room was rewarded by the discovery of three items calculated to illuminate the clerk's colorless account of her career.

One of these was a Bible, on the fly leaf of which was written:

To Selma, from her mother.

A second item was a note in which Selma herself had attempted to shed some light upon her story. It said:

"Wages too low. Life is not worth living."

The third was a little note book. In it the girl had recorded the three menus set forth above. There were other items in the book which indicated Selma was a desperate student of economics. From them it appeared she was employed by the Kuppenheimer clothiers, at 428 Franklin street, at a wage of \$8 a week. This income Selma had distributed as follows:

| | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Meals | \$3.15 |
| Room rent | 2.50 |
| Car fare | .60 |
| Laundry | 1.00 |
| Total | <u>\$7.25</u> |

Thus in mathematics that could not be refuted, Selma had been able to demonstrate to her own entire satisfaction that at the end of each week, having liquidated all current indebtedness, she would have left for orchids, automobile rides, and theater parties a grand aggregate of 75 cents.

Having gratified a ghoulish propensity with these inquiries the reporter went out to the county hospital and talked to the doctor who had been with Selma when she died.

"Yes," said the physician, "she revived. For a short time before she died she was entirely lucid."

"What did she say?"

"Why, now that you mention it, she said a funny thing. I asked her what made her do it. She did not answer for a long time and then she asked:

"Doctor, did you ever live for six months on twenty-cent dinners?"

(d) WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

"In at least 80 per cent of the cases prosecuted actual fraud or duress in some form or other is employed to compel these girls to go into this sort of business." Mr. Finch of the U. S. Department of Justice before the sub-committee of the House Comm. on Appropriations. National Soc., March 1, 1913.

SENATE DOC. 196. "Importing Women for Immoral Purposes." To the motive of business profit is due beyond question the impulse which creates and upholds the traffic. * * *

The hirelings of the traffic are stationed at certain points of entry in Canada where large numbers of immigrants are landed to do what is known in their parlance as "cutting out work." * * *

When women are brought into this country for immoral purposes, usually they come either as wives or relatives of the men accompanying them. * * *

The recruiting of alien women or girls who enter the U. S. in violation of section 3 of the Immigration Act, or to live in this country in violation of this provision, is carried on both here and abroad. * * *

In naming the business of importing women, the "white slave traffic," the public has instinctively stated the fact that the business is maintained for profit. It is probably no exaggeration to say that if means can be devised of stripping the profits from it the traffic will cease. * * *

SENATE REPORT No. 886—Governmental investigations which have been conducted disclose the fact that the importation of women from foreign countries has been systematic and continuous, and has not been limited to isolated and accidental cases. * * *

Various arrests have been made in the Chicago districts which discloses the existence of a traffic in girls from Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Great Britain and other countries. * * *

President of the Woman's National Industrial League to the House Committee.—"Syndicates exist in New York and Boston for the purpose of supplying fresh young girls from immigrants arriving in this country, for houses of ill fame; agents of the business go abroad and assist in this nefarious business. Immigrants arriving in New York furnish 20,000 victims annually." * * *

W. T. Stead, Reporting the Testimony of Dora Claffin, the "Madam" of a House of Ill Fame.—"I say honestly that I do not believe that one woman in 10,000 would cast herself at the feet of lust except under duress or under the force of circumstances. . . .

"The recruiting grounds of the bagnio are the stores, where girls work long hours for small pay; the homes that have few comforts and practically no pleasure; the streets, where girls are often cast, still unknown to sin, but in want and without shelter. . . .

"In the case of prostitution, the real cause lies not in the girls who fall, but in the social conditions that make the fall easy."

George K. Turner (McClure's, April, 1907).—"The price paid (for girls) is about \$50 a head. In some cases \$75 has been given. This money paid over to the agent is charged up to the debt of the woman of the house. She pays that for her own sale. In addition she gives over a large share of her earnings to the man who places her."

Beyond any question, irrespective of extent, prostitution as a business in New York City, in order to be profitable, requires the services of a "cadet" and the protector. It is no longer the case that houses of prostitution are established in a locality because there is a demand, and that patrons seek them and go thither in an orderly way. Instead of that, a small army of unemployed, vicious young men are used to solicit patrons who are not seeking disorderly places, to keep women on the street to solicit patrons, to see that houses secure inmates, and that vice in general is not allowed to decrease. It is for the profit of these men and of various business and political interests which find prostitution a valuable pawn in the game for power that women become prostitutes. The "cadet" and "protector" express the abnormal stimulation of vice.—The Social Evil in New York City, 1910.

From Hearings Before the Illinois Senate Welfare Commission.

(Quoted in Chicago Daily Tribune, March 7, 1913.)

The last witnesses of the day, the women of the tenderloin, talked in whispers. All said that they had been unable to make a living of reputable callings. "A," a woman of 38 years, worked in a laundry at \$4.50 a week after her husband died and left her with two children.

"You couldn't support a family on that, could you?" inquired O'Hara.

"No, I found out that I couldn't even support myself on it, so I went wrong."

"How old were you then?"

"Twenty-eight."

"Where are the children now?" she was asked.

"Well, you may be sure they are not in Chicago."

* * * * *

"P. B." worked in a St. Louis shoe factory from the age of 14 years to 18 years and never got more than \$5.00 a week. Then she answered the call of the underworld and had been there for 5 years. Like the others, she placed her earnings at about \$5.00 a week.

* * * * *

"R. M." worked for \$3.00 a week but her parents seemed dissatisfied with her contribution to the general fund and she found another way.

* * * * *

"J. H." on the stand.

"Why did you go wrong?" asked Senator Juul. "Too little money?"

"Well, yes, that was it."

"What did you work at before that?"

"Domestic servant."

"What were you paid?"

"Two-fifty. I got up at 5 o'clock in the morning and worked until through, generally about 8 o'clock at night. I had enough to eat but I did not want to work so hard. I got to running around with fellows and then I'd want to be decent and would go back to work again, but it was too hard. I began household work after my parents died and I was ten years old. I stuck to it till I was 17."

* * * * *

Edward Hillman, proprietor of Hillman's Department Store,

was asked: "Do you think that a woman would sell her virtue before she would starve?"

"Yes, I do."

* * * * *

Peoria, Ill., March 15 (Associated Press Dispatch).—The girls who testified were unanimous in their statements that low wages had been in a great measure contributory to their downfall. The employers as a rule conceded that low wages might contribute to vice.

* * * * *

Georgia Hall, keeper of a resort, stated that she had been a keeper of a house of ill-fame for the past 22 years. She declared that nine out of every ten cases of fallen girls which had come under her personal observation were directly traceable to "starvation wages."

Senator Beall: "During your 22 years of experience with these people have you ever known an instance of the girl who went wrong on account of low wages?"

"Yes, several; since I have been in Peoria a girl named Dorothy Johnson, came to me from Lincoln, Ills. She had been working there, but declared that she could not earn enough money to live comfortably. She had no clothes and appeared to be half starved. I took her into my house.

"I know other girls who work for eight hours each day for starvation wages and then walk the streets until late at night in order to make enough money to live. I believe there are many such girls in this city and I have heard that it is the custom in certain stores for the employers to suggest to the employes that they get 'gentlemen friends.'"

Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., testified that no girl in his employ receives less than \$5.00. A 15-year-old girl said she was employed as "addresser" and paid \$4.50 a week for ten hours a day.

Second girl testified that "scolders" are employed. Forewomen threaten girls with loss of position.

Girl testified she was brought repeatedly to "scolding desk" because she sought rest by sitting down occasionally. She was weak and half sick.

Rosenwald admitted that in 1911 his firm made a profit of \$7,000,000.

The company could have applied \$2,000,000 on increased salaries and still have paid 7 per cent interest on preferred and common stock. At the close of the fiscal year of 1912 there was a surplus of \$12,000,000. Company capitalized at \$50,000,000 and pays about 16 per cent.

* * * * *

Edwin F. Mandel said no girl could live on less than \$7.25 a week.

* * * * *

Pres. Roy M. Shayne, of John T. Shayne & Co., furriers, said no girl can live on less than \$8.00 or \$9.00 in a big city.

He also said he thought there was an intimate connection between low wages and vice.

14. Divorce and Marriage.

(U. S. Statistical Abstract for 1912. Summarized by Morris Hillquit in "Socialism: Promise or Menace," pp. 181,-182. The Macmillan Co., 1914.)

The total number of divorces granted in the United States between 1887 and 1906 was 900,584; in other words, within a period of twenty years, or about half of the duration of a normal conjugal life, over 1,800,000 persons were divorced from each other by formal judicial decree. In 1906 there were 72,962

divorces against 853,290 marriages—one divorce for every twelve marriages.

According to the census figures of 1910, the total male population of the country, twenty years old and over, was about 28,000,000. Out of these 8,102,062 were single, 1,470,280 widowed, and 155,815 divorced. Out of the 25,500,000 women over twenty years old, 4,947,406 were single, 3,165,967 were widowed and 181,418 divorced.

Thus out of a total of 53,500,000 adult American, 18,000,000, or more than a third, were unmated. "This," observes Commissioner Rittenhouse, who was charged with the task of investigating the alarming facts, "is an unfortunate and startling state of affairs. Moreover, from the ranks of the unmarried comes humanity's heaviest contribution to immorality and crime."

Divorces—1890 to 1900.

(U. S. Statistical Abstract, page 79.)

| | Number divorces. | Divorces per 100,000 married population. |
|---|------------------|--|
| 1890 | 33,197 | 148 |
| 1900 | 55,502 | 200 |
| Divorces per 100,000 of the total population from 1870 to 1900: | | |
| 1870 | | 29 |
| 1880 | | 38 |
| 1890 | | 52 |
| 1900 | | 73 |

One Out of Every Ten.

Dr. W. C. Woodward, the health officer of the District of Columbia, the capital of the nation, testified before a senatorial vice commission of the state of Illinois which held a special session there. Among other things Dr. Woodward said:

"Ten per cent of all the recorded births in the District of Columbia last year were illegitimate, the mothers being between 13 and 20 years of age in the majority of cases."

According to this showing one out of every ten babies born in the capital city of the American republic is born out of wedlock.

What have those to say who are everlastingly charging Socialism with being immoral and with having designs upon the marriage relation to this startling showing?

Here we have the statement positive from a high public official under capitalism that ten per cent of the babies born in the District of Columbia, which will doubtless hold good throughout the country, are illegitimate.

Capitalism, according to your own highest authority, places the brand of illegitimacy upon ten out of every hundred children born under it.

15. Intemperance.

(a) CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1912, page 600.)

| | Total consumption of wines and Liquors Gallons. | Total consumption per capita. | | | |
|---------|--|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | | Distilled spirits. Proof Galls. | Wines. Galls. | Malt Liq'rs. Galls. | All Liq'rs and wines Galls. |
| 1840 | 71,244,823 | 2.52 | 0.29 | 1.36 | 4.17 |
| 1850 | 94,712,853 | 2.24 | .27 | 1.58 | 4.08 |
| 1860 | 202,120,007 | 2.86 | .34 | 3.22 | 6.43 |
| 1870 | 296,876,931 | 2.07 | .32 | 5.31 | 7.70 |
| 1871-80 | 392,558,432 | 1.39 | .47 | 6.93 | 8.79 |
| 1881-90 | 751,074,446 | 1.34 | .48 | 11.38 | 13.21 |
| 1891 | 1,067,471,393 | 1.43 | .46 | 14.84 | 16.72 |
| 1892 | 1,114,876,299 | 1.49 | .43 | 15.20 | 17.13 |
| 1893 | 1,207,365,215 | 1.52 | .48 | 16.19 | 18.20 |

(Continued)

(a) CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN THE UNITED STATES.

| | Total consumption of wines and Liquors | Total consumption per capita. | | | |
|------|--|-------------------------------|--------|--------------|----------------------|
| | | Distilled spirits. Proof. | Wines. | Malt Liq'rs. | All Liq'rs and wines |
| | Gallon. | Galls. | Galls. | Galls. | Galls. |
| 1894 | 1,148,447,584 | 1.34 | .32 | 15.32 | 16.98 |
| 1895 | 1,142,552,426 | 1.14 | .30 | 15.13 | 16.57 |
| 1896 | 1,202,893,116 | 1.01 | .27 | 15.85 | 17.12 |
| 1897 | 1,180,941,634 | 1.02 | .53 | 14.94 | 16.50 |
| 1898 | 1,266,662,417 | 1.12 | .28 | 15.96 | 17.37 |
| 1899 | 1,250,174,849 | 1.18 | .35 | 15.30 | 16.82 |
| 1900 | 1,349,732,435 | 1.28 | .39 | 16.09 | 17.76 |
| 1901 | 1,390,912,302 | 1.31 | .36 | 15.98 | 17.65 |
| 1902 | 1,539,859,237 | 1.34 | .61 | 17.18 | 19.14 |
| 1903 | 1,606,217,122 | 1.43 | .47 | 17.67 | 19.57 |
| 1904 | 1,663,776,829 | 1.45 | .52 | 17.91 | 19.87 |
| 1905 | 1,694,455,976 | 1.42 | .41 | 18.02 | 19.85 |
| 1906 | 1,874,758,027 | 1.47 | .53 | 19.54 | 21.55 |
| 1907 | 2,020,136,809 | 1.58 | .65 | 20.56 | 22.79 |
| 1908 | 2,006,233,408 | 1.39 | .58 | 20.26 | 22.22 |
| 1909 | 1,935,544,011 | 1.32 | .67 | 19.07 | 21.06 |
| 1910 | 2,045,427,018 | 1.42 | .65 | 20.09 | 22.19 |
| 1911 | 2,169,356,975 | 1.46 | .67 | 20.66 | 22.79 |
| 1912 | 2,128,452,226 | 1.44 | .58 | 19.96 | 21.98 |

(b) ATTITUDE OF SOCIALIST PARTIES ON LIQUOR PROBLEM.

(From "Socialism in Theory and Practice," by Morris Hillquit. Published by the Macmillan Company. Pages 313-314.)

Of late the socialists of many countries have considerably changed their views on the problem of alcoholism and on the value of the modern temperance movements. They have gradually come to realize that in the matter of abstinence from, or temperance in the use of alcoholic drinks, the purely moral factors of will power and determination play a large part. In their campaigns against the drink evil they still lay the greater stress on the betterment of the material conditions of the workers, but they also recognize the value of a purely educational propaganda against the abuses of alcohol.

To the Social Democratic Party of Austria belongs the merit of having stated the proposition most clearly and tersely in a resolution adopted in 1903, and from which we quote the following portion:

"This convention declares that alcoholism has a disastrous effect on the physical and mental powers of the working class, and that it is a strong obstacle to the organizing work of socialism. No means to remove the evils arising from alcoholism should, therefore, be neglected. * * *

"The principal means in this struggle will always be the elevation of the material conditions of the proletariat, but a necessary supplement to this is the task of enlightening the workers on the effects of alcohol and of shattering their prejudices in favor of the drinking habit."

The socialists of Germany declare it to be the duty of organized labor to see to it that the workingmen, and especially their children, be enlightened by oral and written propaganda on the dangers arising from the use of alcohol and the drink-treating habit.

A similar stand has been taken by the socialists of Switzerland and Holland. In Sweden the socialist program contains a plank demanding that the public schools include in their curriculum a regular study course on the evils of alcoholism. In Norway the Socialist party demands the imposition of heavy taxes on all alcoholic beverages. In England the Labor party favors the local option system. In Belgium the socialists have banished all alcoholic drinks from their numerous meeting places and recreation halls, while the Socialists of Finland demand the unconditional prohibition of all manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks.

The socialists of the United States for the first time took

official notice of the alcohol problem at their national convention of 1908.

Resolution Adopted by National Committee of the Socialist Party, in Session, May, 1914.

Whereas, The problem of the liquor traffic has become an issue of vital importance in state and nation; and

Whereas, The International Socialist movement is now giving careful study and consideration to this question, it being placed on the agenda at the International Socialist Congress at Vienna, this year; and

Whereas, The Socialist party should take a definite and scientific position on this issue, therefore, be it

Resolved, That a special committee of five shall be elected by the National Committee to study the liquor problem in all its aspects, and particularly to gather all available statistics and information concerning the relation of the liquor traffic to the welfare of the working class;

That this committee report upon the attitude of the Socialist party in the various countries of the world, on the liquor traffic, and an outline of their experiments and policies on the subject;

That this special committee shall prepare a detailed report of its findings for the next meeting of the National Committee, the same to be sent to the members of that committee at least one month before the opening of the session.

16. Immigration.

(a) EXTENT AND CAUSES OF IMMIGRATION.

(Extract from "Poverty," by Robert Hunter. Published by the Macmillan Company.)

It is amazing to consider the extent of the foreign element in this country.

Since the year 1821 over twenty million immigrants have arrived in this country. Within the last twenty-three years considerably over half of this number, or upwards of ten million immigrants, have landed in the United States.

A striking fact in connection with the movement of population is the influence of the profit-seeking forces upon its volume. It is stimulated by certain economic forces consciously exercised. Generally speaking, immigration is promoted by two classes: Large employers of labor, seeking always and everywhere the cheapest form obtainable, and the owners of the transatlantic steamship companies.

Bolton King, writing on "Italy Today," says that in 1896 there were over seven thousand emigration agents in the country (Italy), and too many of them have speculated on the peasant's ignorance, giving false information as to the labor market, sometimes cheating him (the Italian) of the little hoard he had taken with him, or deliberately sending him to a different locality from that agreed upon. These agencies in Europe are spread "like a vast network," having representatives in every town, village and hamlet for the purpose of making the ignorant peasantry believe fabulous stories of wealth to be had in America.

It should be realized that the forces promoting immigration are selfish forces caring neither for the welfare of the country nor for the welfare of the immigrants.

The class of large employers most active in preventing the restriction of immigration have usually been those paying the smallest wages. A representative of the Southern Pacific Railroad, appearing before the Committee of the United States on Immigration in 1902, for the purpose of opposing restriction, claimed that the railroad was unable to get sufficient workmen. The Commissioner General of Immigration, knowing well the wages and conditions of railway workmen, said, "Let it pay living wages and it will have laborers enough." The wages paid by the Southern Pacific, as shown before the same committee, were from \$1.16 to \$1.39 a day, or, in other terms, from \$350 to \$425 a year. Those employers who use every means, fair or foul, to obtain an over-supply of laborers, and, in this way, to force wages down to the lowest possible limit, should be classed among the dangerous elements of any country. This policy, pursued for many years in the anthracite districts of Pennsylvania, caused violent disturbances until the men were organized in unions for the purpose of limiting the

supply of laborers and of increasing wages. In order to keep wages down and to prevent the growth of trade unions, many employers advocate unlimited immigration. The reports to the Industrial Commission show that in those districts where there is an over-supply of laborers of many different nationalities, it is almost impossible to organize the workers until suffering makes the men realize the necessity of union, instead of competition, among themselves. In this way the selfish interests create serious social problems by promoting excessive immigration."

And we are presented yearly with an enormous number of adults—this year there will be approximately one million immigrants—a large proportion of whom are illiterate.

The heaviest burden of the immense immigration is, however, not borne by the state, which, after all, can, when necessary, afford to bear even larger burdens of this character. The real weight is borne by the poorest classes of our community (except those in the almshouses); namely, the unskilled workers. Unskilled labor is already too plentiful.

A surplus of laborers enables the meanest employer to oppress his workmen to the very limit of endurance. If it is to his advantage to have short seasons, an over-supply of labor enables him to push through large contracts of work in short periods of time, leaving the workmen at other times unemployed and in poverty. In the same way that surplus labor enables the individual manufacturer to supply his market in a short period of time, leaving his plant and workmen idle at other times, all manufacturers are enabled by surplus labor to supply sufficient products for the market in a few years of great business activity, thereby necessitating, periodically, a long season, sometimes extending over years, when both plant and men must be idle. Both the Honorable Carroll D. Wright and Professor Richmond Mayo-Smith have shown how important a factor this over-supply of labor is in creating industrial depressions.

Immigration presents for our serious consideration a formidable array of dangers. It is unnecessary to summarize the facts and the arguments which have been given. These are the two things which, of all that have been stated, seem the most important; the likelihood of race annihilation and the possible degeneration of even the succeeding American type.

Our race may be supplanted by another—by an Asiatic one, for instance—and not because it is better so nor because it is for the world's good. On the contrary, it is in order that the individuals interested in steamships may be benefited and in order that the employers may have cheaper labor. These selfish forces may be disguised, but they are there and they are active.

Immigration Into the United States for Fiscal Year Ended June 30.

(From the World Almanac and Encyclopedia, 1914, page 180.)

| Year | Total Im'gr'nts. | Year | Total Im'gr'nts. | Year | Total Im'gr'nts. | Year | Total Im'gr'nts. |
|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|--------|------------------|
| 1900.. | 448,572 | 1904.. | 812,870 | 1908.. | 782,870 | 1911.. | 878,587 |
| 1901.. | 487,918 | 1905.. | 1,027,421 | 1909.. | 751,786 | 1912.. | 838,172 |
| 1902.. | 648,743 | 1906.. | 1,100,735 | 1910.. | 1,041,570 | 1913.. | 1,197,892 |
| 1903.. | 857,046 | 1907.. | 1,285,349 | | | | |

Total from 1824 to 1913 inclusive, \$30,808,944. (For yearly totals from 1824 to 1899. see 1913 Almanac, page 185.) From 1789 to 1882, estimated, 266,038.

The reported occupation of immigrants arriving during the fiscal year 1913 were as follows: Laborers, 220,992; servants, 140,218; farm laborers, 320,105; tailors, 22,934; merchants and dealers, 13,919; carpenters and jobbers, 15,035; shoemakers, 11,578; clerks and accountants, 14,025; mariners, 4,979; miners, 9,510. The number of professional immigrants (including 911 actors, 1,917 engineers, 1,254 musicians and 2,389 teachers) was 13,469; of skilled laborers, 160,108; other miscellaneous (including unskilled), 14,396; no occupation (including women and children), 297,188.

(b) IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRIES IN FISCAL YEARS 1912 AND 1913.

(From World Almanac and Encyclopedia, 1914, page 180.)

| Countries. | 1912. | 1913 |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Austria-Hungary | 178,882 | 254,825 |
| Belgium | 4,169 | 7,405 |
| Bulgaria, Servia and Montenegro..... | 4,447 | 1,753 |
| Denmark | 6,191 | 6,478 |
| France, including Corsica | 8,628 | 9,675 |
| German Empire | 27,788 | 34,329 |

(Continued)

(b) IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRIES IN FISCAL YEARS 1912 AND 1913.

| Countries | 1912. | 1913 |
|---|----------------|------------------|
| Greece | 21,449 | 22,817 |
| Italy, including Sicily and Sardinia..... | 157,134 | 265,542 |
| Netherlands | 6,619 | 6,902 |
| Norway | 8,675 | 8,587 |
| Portugal, incl. Cape Verde and Azores Islands.... | 10,230 | 14,171 |
| Roumania | 1,997 | 2,155 |
| Russian Empire and Finland | 162,395 | 291,040 |
| Spain, including Canary and Balearic Islands.... | 6,327 | 6,167 |
| Sweden | 12,688 | 17,202 |
| Switzerland | 3,505 | 4,104 |
| Turkey in Europe | 14,481 | 14,128 |
| England | 40,408 | 43,363 |
| Ireland | 25,879 | 27,876 |
| Scotland | 14,578 | 14,220 |
| Wales | 21.62 | 2,745 |
| Other Europe | 243 | 371 |
| Total Europe | 718,875 | 1,055,855 |
| China | 1,765 | 2,103 |
| Japan | 6,114 | 8,281 |
| India | 175 | 179 |
| Turkey in Asia | 12,788 | 23,955 |
| Other Asia | 607 | 838 |
| Total Asia | 21,449 | 35,358 |
| Africa | 1,009 | 1,409 |
| Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand..... | 794 | 1,229 |
| Pacific Islands, not specified | 104 | 111 |
| British North America | 55,990 | 73,802 |
| Central America | 1,242 | 1,473 |
| Mexico | 23,238 | 11,926 |
| South America | 2,989 | 4,248 |
| West Indies | 12,467 | 12,458 |
| Other countries | 15 | 23 |
| Grand total | 838,172 | 1,197,892 |

17. Suppression of the Freedom of Speech and of the Press.

(a) HOW THEY STOLE HAMPTON'S MAGAZINE.

Preface to "Stories of the Great Railroads," from "Business: the Heart of the Nation," by Charles Edward Russell.

(John Lane Company, Publishers, New York.)

Most of the matter in this book originally appeared in Hampton's Magazine in the form of separate articles.

After the manuscript of Chapter III had been taken to the magazine office, before there had been any publication, and when the article, in fact, had advanced no farther than the proof stage, I received a letter from a railroad agent in a western city displaying an intimate acquaintance with the article, attempting to refute some of its statements and urging me not to print them.

Again, while the chapter on "Death Avenue" was lying at the office in proofs, and two weeks before the magazine that contained it had been made up, a gentleman declaring himself to be a representative of the New York Central Railroad and known in the office to be such, called with the information that he knew the nature and scope of the article the magazine intended to publish about the New York Central, and he plainly intimated that unless it was suppressed the railroad company would withdraw all its advertising from Hampton's. The article was published and railroad advertising was accordingly withdrawn.

About two weeks before the publication of Chapter XIII, and while it, too, had advanced no farther than the proof stage, there came to the office of the magazine a gentleman who introduced himself as coming from Mr. Charles S. Mellen, president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, which is made the subject of that chapter. He said that Mr. Mellen understood that an article attacking the railroad company was

about to be published in Hampton's; that it was, as he expressed it, "full of lies," and he came to warn the editor not to publish any such matter. In describing the article, he showed such familiarity with it as a man could hardly have unless he had read it, although Mr. Hampton had believed that no one outside of the office (except myself) knew of the existence of the article.

Proofs of the matter were now produced and the caller requested to indicate which of the statements were "lies." Each important sentence was read to him separately, and he was asked whether it were true or false. In every instance except four he was obliged to admit that it was true. The four instances to the contrary were either trivial or they were matters that Mr. Hampton himself knew to be accurately stated.

He had told his caller at the beginning of the interview that he would change or omit every statement in the article that could be shown to be false. After spending the better part of the day in careful consideration of the matter sentence by sentence, there appeared to be nothing material to change.

Nevertheless, the visitor demanded that the article be not printed. He said that if it should be, the financial powers back of the New Haven railroad would ruin the magazine and Mr. Hampton.

The article was printed in the issue of November, 1910. From that time Mr. Hampton found it increasingly difficult to get any money at the banks. Even when he offered paper of the best kind, endorsed by four men of wealth who had no trouble about borrowing money on their own account, the banks refused him all accommodation. Twenty-one banks and trust companies were approached with the same result. More than one declared a willingness to accept the paper for any other purpose than Hampton's Magazine. Several times the paper was accepted and subsequently, at some mysterious signal, rejected. The result was that Mr. Hampton was ruined according to prediction and his magazine was swept out of his hands.

It had a circulation of more than 400,000 and a very large advertising business, and not a bank in New York would advance to it one dollar.

Meantime, spies had made their way into the business office of the magazine, copied the list of stockholders, and these were besieged with circulars intimating that the concern was about to fail and they had better protect themselves, with the inevitable result of destroying the magazine's credit and bringing upon it a swarm of frightened stockholders.

These are the facts.

The author earnestly desires opinions upon them from unprejudiced sources—and others. They seem to him to represent a condition incompatible with any assertion of a free press in America, and a state of espionage by the corporations that deserves the thoughtful attention of every citizen.

(b) THE NEWSPAPER AND THE TRUST.

(From "The Beast," by Judge Ben B. Lindsey. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co.)

It has been my experience that there are no agents of reform as powerful in our American communities as the newspapers. They are the very eyes of the people. What they refuse to see, it is almost impossible to discover to the public. What they desire to see wrongly, it is almost impossible to show in its true face. And this is well known to the Beast. It not only uses the editorial pages; it applies its influence to the reports of the news columns; it supplements editorial arguments and abuse with misrepresentations, with falsifications and with downright inventions in the reporters' room.

(c) FREE SPEECH IN COLORADO.

(From "The Beast," by Judge Ben B. Lindsey.)

There was nothing for us now but an independent campaign. We tried to raise a campaign fund. My friends went first among the business men—and found their pockets buttoned. All our efforts ended in raising only \$450. The business men said that I was "the man for the place," but that I was foolish to attack the corporations, and that it was dangerous for a man of business to support me. For the same reason, many of them refused even to sign a petition to nominate me.

I then tried the ministers. I sent a letter to every preacher in Denver—about one hundred and fifty in all—explaining my difficulties and asking them to meet me in the Juvenile Court on an appointed evening. Four or five sent letters of regret. Two or three came to the meeting. The others were silent. Later the young men of the Christian Citizenship Union sent a similar letter to the ministers, through their president, Mr. Harry G. Fisher. The same ministers came.

I talked to a number of school teachers who came to my chamber privately to promise me their support. They told me that many teachers were eager to help, but dared not make themselves conspicuous because it was known that the First National Bank and the Moffat-Evans-Cheesman interests controlled the School Board; and the teachers were afraid of losing their positions.

I tried the leader of the Woman's Club. One able and wealthy woman, of whose support I was certain, confessed that she could not even sign my nominating petition. She said that if any woman of wealth wished to take any part in such a fight, she would have to invest her money in another state. Her investments were in Denver, and if she were to champion our cause publicly, the corporations would make her suffer for it ruinously. Another leader told me: "You know, Judge Lindsey, I would like to help you, but my husband is in business, and his business depends largely upon the good will of Mr. Evans. He has large contracts with the county. He has told me that I must not under any conditions attend your meetings or do anything like that. It would be very offensive to Mr. Evans and the business men." Another said: "I know you are right, Judge, but my husband is in the City Hall. Some day I hope he will be free—so that I may be free—but he isn't now." I went at the beginning of the campaign to practically all the women's suffrage leaders who, at national meetings had been telling how much the women had done for the Juvenile Court in Denver; and none of them dared help me. Women like Mrs. Mary C. Bradford and Mrs. Lafferty (who was a member of the last legislature) took the platform against me and supported the System in its attempt to "get" the Juvenile Court. Mrs. Scott Saxton of the Woman's Club stood practically alone in her open public support of our anti-corporation campaign.

(d) WENDELL PHILLIPS ON FREE SPEECH.

No matter whose lips that speak, they must be free and ungagged. Let us believe that the whole truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole truth you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience and to protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion, no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.—Wendell Phillips.

18. War and Militarism.

(From Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1912, page 714.)

(a) REGULAR ARMY, PHILIPPINE SCOUTS AND MILITIA; ORGANIZED STRENGTH, YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1909, TO 1912.

| | 1909 | | 1910 | | 1911 | | 1912 | |
|-------------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| | Officers | Enlisted men | Officers | Enlisted men | Officers | Enlisted men | Officers | Enlisted men |
| Regular army | 4,048 | 74,665 | 4,273 | 70,893 | 4,281 | 73,454 | 4,470 | 81,331 |
| Philippine scouts | 160 | 5,586 | 166 | 5,386 | 179 | 5,401 | 180 | 5,480 |
| Militia | 8,975 | 109,951 | 9,155 | 110,505 | 9,172 | 108,816 | 9,142 | 112,710 |

(b) EXPENDITURE FOR ARMY, NAVY AND PENSIONS AND NUMBER OF PENSIONERS.

(From Statistical Abstract, 1912, page 744.)

| | War | Navy | Pensions | Total number of pensioners |
|----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1900.... | \$134,774,768 | \$ 55,953,078 | \$140,877,316 | 993,529 |
| 1901.... | 144,615,697 | 60,506,978 | 139,323,622 | 997,735 |
| 1902.... | 112,272,216 | 67,803,128 | 138,488,560 | 999,446 |
| 1903.... | 118,619,520 | 82,618,034 | 138,425,646 | 996,545 |
| 1904.... | 115,035,411 | 102,956,102 | 142,559,266 | 994,762 |
| 1905.... | 122,175,074 | 117,550,308 | 141,773,965 | 998,441 |
| 1906.... | 117,946,692 | 110,474,264 | 141,034,562 | 985,971 |
| 1907.... | 122,576,465 | 97,128,469 | 139,309,514 | 967,371 |
| 1908.... | 137,746,524 | 118,037,097 | 153,892,467 | 951,687 |
| 1909.... | 161,067,462 | 115,546,011 | 161,710,367 | 946,194 |
| 1910.... | 155,911,706 | 123,173,717 | 160,696,416 | 921,083 |
| 1911.... | 160,135,976 | 119,937,644 | 157,980,575 | 892,098 |
| 1912.... | 148,795,422 | 135,591,956 | 153,590,456 | 860,294 |

(c) TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURE BY THE GOVERNMENT FOR ARMY, NAVY AND PENSIONS.

(Compiled from the Statistical Abstract for 1912.)

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| Army | \$148,795,422 |
| Navy | 135,591,956 |
| Pensions | 153,590,456 |
| Total | \$437,977,834 |

(d) ESTIMATE OF ACTUAL COST OF MILITARISM.

Nor can this be regarded as the total cost of militarism. To this must be added the interest on our war debt, the depreciation of fighting equipment and the loss of labor power due to the withdrawing of so many able bodied men from productive labor. This last loss especially is very great.

Adding together the number of officers and enlisted men in 1909 we get 260,419 men withdrawn by the army and navy from productive work. According to United States Census (Statistical Abstract of United States, 1910, page 196), the value of products manufactured in 1905 was \$14,802,147,087; the number of laborers was 5,470,321, and the number of salaried officials, clerks, etc., was 519,751, making the total number employed in creating this product 5,990,072. Dividing the value of the product by this number, we get \$2,471, the average product of each man. Multiply this number by total number of men in army and navy, and you get \$643,475,349, which represents the wealth these men would create if they were engaged in productive labor, and therefore the loss the United States sustains, in that respect alone, through our army and navy.

The total loss to the nation as a result of militarism can, therefore, be estimated as follows:

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Army, Navy and Pensions | \$ 437,000,000 |
| Interest on public war-debt | 20,000,000 |
| Depreciation of fighting equipment | 10,000,000 |
| Loss of labor-power | 643,000,000 |

Total cost of militarism.....\$1,110,000,000

(c) MORE THAN HALF OF THE TOTAL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES FOR WAR.

(From a speech of Hon. L. F. Livingston of Georgia in the House of Representatives, Saturday, June 25, 1910.)

The appropriations made by Congress at this session amount to \$1,027,133,446.44. Again the high-water mark of a billion dollars of expenditures is passed.

This enormous sum of public expenditures, nearly \$1,100,000,000. for which this Congress is responsible, includes \$94,440,567.55 for the Army; \$131,350,854.38 for the Navy; \$5,617,200 for fortifications; \$1,856,249.87 for the Military Academy, and \$155,758,000 for the payments of pensions; in all \$389,022,871.80 outright that is carried in supply bills devoted wholly to making provisions for the military side of our government. In addition there is carried under permanent annual appropriations \$22,195,000 for interest, and \$60,935,000 to meet the requirements of the sinking fund obligations on our outstanding public debt, substantially all of which represents war expenditures, \$4,000,000 for arming and equipping the militia, and \$2,120,000 for various objects pertaining to the Navy, the organization of the War and Navy Departments, or offices at Washington, together with the salaries of the Pension Bureau, amount to \$4,588,718 more, and in addition various sums are carried in the sundry civil act for soldiers' homes, armories and arsenals, and other military purposes amounting to \$8,226,310. These sums together make \$102,065,028, and added to the sum total of the five general appropriation bids that appropriate solely for expenditures relating to war, we ascertain that of all that vast sum carried in the direct appropriations made at this session there is devoted to purposes of war, and its pomp and splendor, and to its direct, mournful and tragic results \$491,087,809.50, or considerably more than one-half of all that is appropriated for every conceivable ordinary operating expense of government for the next fiscal year.

The actual expenditures, as they have been ascertained each year for some time past, it may be added, show that the military expenses amount to considerably more than all the rest of our federal expenditures put together, indeed that they approximate as much as 70 per centum of all such expenses. I do not believe there ever was a military despotism on earth that took so large a toll from the taxes extorted from all of the people for purposes purely of war as it is shown by this exhibit.

(f) THE COST OF A BATTLESHIP.

(From "War and Waste," by David Starr Jordan, President, Leland Stanford, Jr., University, pages 284-285. Doubleday, Page & Co., Publishers.)

By all means let us popularize the navy. It is our navy; we have paid for it, and it is for our people to do what they please with it. "For, after all, this is the people's country." And perhaps we could bring it nearer to our hearts and thoughts if we should paint on the white side of each ship, its cost in taxes, in the blood and sweat of workingmen, in the anguish of "the Man Lowest Down."

There is the good ship North Dakota, for example. Her cost is almost exactly the year's net savings of the prosperous state for which she is named. There are the fine dreadnaughts, which fear nothing while the nation is in its senses and in war nothing but a torpedo boat or an aerobomb. It would please the workingman to know that his wages for 20,000 years (\$528 per year, on the average) would purchase a ship of this kind, and that the wages of 1,600 of his fellows each year would keep it trim and afloat.

(g) THE WASTE OF WAR.

(Compiled from authentic sources by Robert G. Root, Secretary-Treasurer, California Peace Societies.)

| | |
|--|------------------|
| 1.—U. S. spent 2½ cents on each acre of forest, 1911, total | \$5,335,886.00 |
| Owing to lack of protection, annual forest fire losses are (Chief Forester, Nat. Geog. Mag., 1912) | \$100,000,000.00 |
| 2.—U. S. spent on preparation for war in 1911.. | \$283,086,000.00 |
| A per capita tax of \$3.07 (World Peace Foundation). California's share of the total | \$8,074,962.00 |
| 3.—U. S. spends nearly 70% of her yearly revenue on wars, past and future, a per capita tax of | \$5.00 |

- 4.—U. S. expends for one shot from a 13-inch gun Plus the damage to the gun of \$555..... \$1,050.00
This exceeds average salary of teachers in California, 1912: Women, \$726.94; Men \$1,010.18; high school, \$1,048.66 and \$1,527.92. A college education in each cannon boom!
- 5.—U. S. pays for a 13-inch cannon (government figures) \$55,569.00
For latest, most improved gun—to kill men \$124,234.00
Compare with cost of many churches or high school buildings. Compare the cost of saving life on Panama Canal Zone, \$2.43, with the cost of killing a man in war, \$15,000. (Outlook, Feb. 1, 1913, p. 242).
- 6.—Latest super-dreadnaught of U. S. is to cost \$15,000,000.00
Each year's expense to run it (junk in 15 years) \$1,000,000.00
Compare with value of fifteen merchants' vessels for Pacific-Atlantic coast trade costing less than \$15,000,000.00
Or, compare the cost of 6,000 new homes at \$2,500 \$15,000,000.00
Or, compare with appropriation to prevent floods on the Mississippi, 1912 (see No. 10) \$6,250,000.00
Or, compare with cost of Roosevelt Dam, Arizona, which will irrigate 240,000 acres; or ten acres and a living for 24,000 families, or 120,000 people, while the dreadnaught supports only 1,000 to 1,200 people..... \$9,000,000.00
- 7.—The \$15,000,000 "invested" in only one big battleship (by vested interests) would build and equip Los Angeles Polytechnic High School 27 times; Oakland's new Polytechnic High School 25 times; the University of California, at Berkeley, valued at \$4,385,632 (1912), nearly 3½ times.
- 8.—U. S. Secretary of War says only 8 of the 49 army posts in the U. S. are of any practical value, yet millions are appropriated for maintaining the useless ones.
- 9.—U. S. Secretary of Navy states (1911) that U. S. has 11 navy yards, Great Britain 6, France 5, and Germany 3.
- 10.—Assessed value of all property in California, 1912 \$2,922,000,000.00
U. S. has spent, since 1899, on war preparations \$3,000,000,000.00
And neglected her forest reserves, her arid lands, her navigable rivers and commercial harbors; has failed to build needed public roads, public buildings, and also failed to stamp out many preventable diseases among animals and men.
She has allowed 500 people to drown, 100,000 to become beggars of bread, and let 500,000 American citizens be driven from their homes by preventable floods in 1912 alone, because she wasted her revenues on preparations to k'll men.
- 11.—The war debt of the nations, says Dr. David Starr Jordan, is nearly \$37,000,000,000.00
Accumulated since 1700 A. D., just in killing men (14,000,000 men killed in war, 1700 to 1912).

(h) SOCIALISTS AND WAR.

What the Socialists Did in Norway and Sweden in 1905 to Prevent a War.

The countries of Norway and Sweden had always had separate parliamentary bodies, separate systems of taxations and practically separate governments, except that the King of Sweden was also the King of Norway.

In 1905 the people of Norway, led by the governing class, rebelled against this partial subjection to Sweden and demanded that they be freed from the rule of the Swedish king. The Swedish king and parliament refused to grant their demands, and immediately became the aggressors in a violent dissension. Finally the Swedish authorities declared war; and both countries commenced to mobilize their armies, following the usual conscription system, by which the rank and file of the workingmen and common people were immediately drawn into the armies.

Almost simultaneously with the attempt to gather the armies, the Socialist party in both countries started a vigorous agitation to get the workers of both countries to refuse to fight and kill

each other, in the interests of the governing classes. Enormous mass meetings were held in all possible places, and a huge parade of protest marched on the palace of the Swedish king and the house of the Swedish parliament. The workers were constantly assembled in large and small groups, and those who lived near the border line frequently passed over into the other country to join their fellow workers in picnics and meetings, to express their feelings of fraternity.

The movement finally amounted to a virtual strike in the body of the conscripted army, and the members of the governing class in both countries saw that if they were to carry on a war, they would have to do the actual fighting against each other. This they would not do.

The war was entirely averted.

The Morocco Affair.

(July-August, 1911.)

The Vorwarts, July 4, as soon as the Morocco affair broke out, urged the members of the Socialist party to protest against the present election system and demanded in its manifesto to protest likewise against "the methods of jingoes who wish the citizens' blood for the capitalistic interests in Morocco and against imperialism, which cause the military dangers to hover over the German nation."

July 7, the French Socialist, Jean Jaures, wrote to Vorwarts suggesting calmness and demanding energetic actions on the part of the European proletariat. A few days later his paper, "Humanite," published a resolution of the executive committee of the French Socialist party to the effect that the French section of the International is ready to carry out the resolution of the last International Congress. The resolution of the committee ends with the statement, "Morocco is not worth the bones of the French workingman." The German Vorwarts upon the receipt of this resolution responded with the approval of the executive committee of the German Social Democratic party, saying that the German party accepted the initiative of the French comrades with the warmest sympathy and satisfaction, and adding: "Morocco is worth the bones of neither the French nor German workmen."

July 13 the Socialist demonstration against the agitation for war took place in Paris. A delegate of the German party was present. He assured the French Socialists that the German working class will resent the war with the same energy as the French comrades do. On the occasion of the visit of the French trade unionists in Berlin at the end of July, a demonstration meeting was held at which a mutual solidarity of the German and French workingmen and a demand for peace were emphasized.

July 29 the Spanish Socialist, Pablo Iglesias, notified the German Socialists that the Spanish Socialist party and labor organizations had, together with the Republicans, arranged a protest demonstration.

August 9 the German executive committee issued a manifesto to the members.

August 17 an international peace demonstration, attended by several thousand workingmen, took place in London, arranged in co-operation between the executive committee of the Labor party, the Federation of Trade Unions and Trade Union Congresses. The meeting was addressed by Comrades Keir Hardie, R. McDonald and Hyndman. French guests participated as speakers. There was a resolution passed calling attention to the endangering of the world peace through the exploitation of home and foreign markets and promising solemnly to prevent the breaking out of war. The International Congress of

Miners has likewise spoken for peace. Subsequently, Comrade McDonald made the following remarks in the English parliament:

"The House knows the forces, the organization and the movement in Europe with which we English Socialists are connected; that so long as there is a general federation of labor or a labor party they will all work for peace. The International Miners' Congress has just passed a similar resolution, that if peace should be interrupted at the present moment, we will nevertheless stand by it. We appreciate the deep seriousness of the situation. We also know that it is very useful for the ruling classes to learn the story of an organization which will energetically support the peace in evil as well as in good times."

When Lloyd George delivered his belligerent speech in Mansion Hall, Comrade Bebel, German delegate to the International Bureau, urged a conference of the bureau. The German Socialist party arranged demonstrations all throughout Germany. In Berlin itself, ten mass meetings were held September 3, the anniversary of "patriotic" Sedan. These were attended by one-half million organized workingmen. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The meeting protests with the utmost energy against the latest course of the imperialistic policy of Germany. It is against the permanent settlement in Morocco, as well as against the increase of the German colonial possessions through unworthy bargaining. The meeting gives its conviction that neither the German working class nor the German commerce and industry would be profited by the new colonial acquisitions; that on the contrary, the burden of the people would be increased and an unforeseen war-danger created.

"The meeting turns with utmost indignation against capitalistic circles who induced by selfish purposes utilize the country's diplomacy to engage Germany in useless war.

"The meeting declares in the name of the workingmen that they would oppose all the criminal attempts which were directed towards bringing on a war, bloodshed and destruction of the common welfare among the nations, with all the means at their disposal.

"The meeting furthermore declares its displeasure with the method of the German government in leaving all important and portentous foreign affairs in the hands of a small number of diplomatists, thus fully eliminating the true representative body of the people. The meeting demands that the people and their parliamentary representatives have the right to decide all matters that concern them, that the diplomatic intrigues and absolute despotism should not determine the destiny of Germany.

"The meeting irrevocably stands by the demands of the International Solidarity, and allies itself with the peace demonstration of the French and English workingmen."

The effect of this demonstration on the future development of the Morocco controversy can not be sufficiently estimated. Not only the foreign comrades have been strengthened in their belief regarding the international solidarity of the workingmen, but the governments of the involved nations were likewise brought into a more reasonable and receptive frame of mind. International peace was then assured and the Morocco controversy peacefully settled.

(i) WHAT WAR COSTS IN HUMAN LIFE.

(From "War—What For?" by George R. Kirkpatrick, pages 49, 50, 52.)

The hot, red flood gushing from the torn veins of the working class, seduced or forced to attend "Death's feast," to

slaughter and be slaughtered, in little more than one brief hundred recent years may be measured thus:

| | |
|--|------------|
| In the French Wars of the Revolution, 1789-1795— | |
| Frenchmen | 1,800,000 |
| Other Europeans | 2,500,000 |
| Wars of the Empire, 1795-1815— | |
| Frenchmen | 2,600,000 |
| Other Europeans | 3,500,000 |
| In European and American Wars since 1815— | |
| According to Lapouge's estimate..... | 9,450,000 |
| Grand (Extremely Grand) Total..... | 19,850,000 |

This total does not show the spilt blood of perhaps one hundred million men, wounded in battle but not killed.

It is especially important to consider also that the enormous total of twenty million—in round numbers—does not include many millions of non-combatants who in one way and another were destroyed during the wars and in consequence of the wars, nor the immense number of non-combatants wounded but not destroyed, nor the vast amount of blood befouled and weakened with disease.

The number of men destroyed as combatants in the Franco-German War was 215,000. Lapouge estimates that for the brief Franco-German War the number of deaths among the non-combatants above the number that would have died at normal death rate within the period consumed by the war if there had been peace, was 450,000. This is to say, during that short war of 1870-71 the number of non-combatants whose death was due to the war, was more than double the number destroyed directly in the war. Now if this extra death harvest rate among the non-combatants be calculated as being somewhat less than half true for all the wars of the civilized world for about one hundred years following 1789, we can safely add to the twenty millions slaughtered on the battlefield and in the military hospitals—to these, I say, we can add twenty millions more, who, like the four hundred and fifty thousand non-combatants in 1870-71, were smitten with the death-breath of war.

This gives us a "grand" total of forty millions (40,000,000) men, women and children actually slaughtered or otherwise destroyed as a result of one hundred years of "splendid" and "glorious" and "grand" and "Christianized" war—and (blessed be the "mysterious will of God who reigns" but doesn't rule under capitalism) these forty million lives were mostly working class lives.

(j) THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR.

("War and Waste," by David Starr Jordan, pages 100, 101, 102, 103. Doubleday, Page & Co., Publishers.)

The French have a motto when a crime is committed: *Cherchez la femme*—Find the woman. Now, when war is threatened or a revolution breaks out—*Cherchez le banquier*—Seek the banker, more exactly the entrepreneur, the promoter of enterprise. Find out who makes money from the disturbance, and then trace the chain of interlocking directorates which lead to the center.

The late Italian war had its motive, in a large part at least, in the speculations of the Bank of Rome.

The Balkan War was started with a fine stage-play of patriotic and humanitarian feeling in the foreground, while behind it was a plebeian perversity and intensity on which the powers had not counted.

But this war was certainly tolerated and encouraged by the masters of Europe. The initial suggestion came apparently from the Russian Minister (Hartwig) at Belgrade, but the plan of expelling the Turk by force found favor both in Paris and Berlin. The final victory rests with the Greek bankers; these

were able to furnish war funds and war armament at a time when Germany and Austria were verging on financial distress.

I find in a table bearing date of 1904 that the Deutsche Bank of Berlin was represented by interlocking directorates in 240 different industrial, transportation or exploiting companies. The Dresdener Bank was represented in 191, the Bank of Schaaffhaussenscher in 211, the Darmstadter Bank in 161 and the Disconto Gesellschaft in 110. These figures may be doubled by this time, and each of the banks has many branches or minor establishments over which it has entire control. Doubtless, too, these and other banks in Berlin, Paris, London and Vienna interlock with each other. They certainly connect with the great armament syndicates, so powerful and so profitable, of Krupp, Schneider, Armstrong, Vickers-Maxim and the rest. Still more important and more significant is the fact that these various establishments, by interlocking arrangements, stand very close to the ruling powers in their respective nations.

Capitalists Manufacture War Scares.

It was found during the recent expose of the German war office that the Krupp Company, a German firm which manufactures war armaments, subsidized newspapers in France to create animosity against the German nation and thus create a war scare in Germany and a consequent increase in armament.

While nothing quite so flagrant has thus far come to light in the United States there is in our country a Navy League with headquarters in Washington which pours forth literature appealing for a big navy. This is supposedly done in the interest of patriotism.

It is a significant fact that Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was, until his death, one of the directors and intensely interested in the league's work, to which he was a liberal contributor.

Other officers and members of the league are:

Herbert L. Satterlee, General Counsel of the league. Mr. Satterlee is a son-in-law and an heir of Mr. Morgan.

General Horace Porter, President of the league. He was for many years an officer of the Pullman Company, a Morgan corporation.

Charles G. Glover, Treasurer of the league. He is president of the Riggs National Bank, which is closer to Wall Street than any other bank in Washington.

Colonel Robert M. Thompson, Chairman of the executive committee of the league. He is an eminent financier of New York, whose great interests generally coincide with the colossal undertakings of the Morgan group.

George Von L. Meyer, Director of the league. Mr. Meyer was Secretary of the Navy in the Taft administration, and on March 3 signed the remarkable contract for the Pennsylvania's armor that has been the subject of unpleasant comment in congress and elsewhere.

Thus we see the men who profit by war and militarism fostering war and militarism.

Big Business and Militarism.

(From "Patriotism and Profits," by Charles Edward Russell, Pearson's, November, 1913.)

About February 1, 1913, there appeared in a back advertising page of a Philadelphia newspaper called the Daily Item an advertisement one inch long and one column wide and set in small type, inviting bids for the furnishing of 8,000 tons of armor plate for the dreadnaught battleship Pennsylvania, now being built for the United States Navy. Bids were to be opened in Washington, February 18.

It was a shrinking, modest little advertisement that seemed to be trying to hide itself in the crowd of big, bawling announcements all around it, but, small as it was, it had potent effect. In a few days appeared at the same hotel in Washington the president of the Carnegie Steel Company, the vice-president of the Bethlehem Steel Company and the vice-president of the Midvale Steel Company, all large and well favored institutions and familiar in the history of armor plate profits in America. These gentlemen conferred, and on February 16 they submitted bids, each for his own company, to furnish the 8,000 tons of armor plate required for the Pennsylvania.

This is called competitive bidding for government contracts, according to law.

When the bids were opened they were found not to vary by so much as \$1 a ton, and by another coincidence, not less remarkable, the prices named were about \$25 a ton greater than the government had ever before paid for armor plate of this kind.

There were no other bids. There never are any other bids.

What It Costs to Make Armor Plate.

(From Report of the Naval Committee of the Senate, quoted by Charles Edward Russell in "Patriotism and Profits," Pearson's, November, 1913.)

| | |
|--|-------|
| Cost of labor and material..... | \$168 |
| Add for reforing | 12 |
| Maintenance of plant | 30 |
| Thirty-three and one-th'rd per cent profit on this:..... | 70 |
| Nickel | 20 |
| Total | \$300 |

At the time the investigation was made the price to the United States government was \$411 per ton. A profit of 33⅓ per cent.

Following is a table showing the profit made by the "patriotic" steel companies on armor furnished for various battle-ships:

Since 1887 the United States government has expended \$83,000,000 for armor plate, at least one-half representing pure graft.

In spite of the tremendous illegitimate profits thus being made, one company—the Carnegie—was found guilty of repeatedly swindling the government by palming off worthless armor for good.

It was found, for instance, that worthless plate had been accepted, paid for and placed on war vessels as follows:

On the Amphitrite, 4 plates.

On the Terror, 3 plates.

On the Oregon, 3 plates.

On the Monterey, 4 plates.

On the Monadnock, 6 plates.

On the New York, 8 plates.

On the Olympia, 3 plates.

On the Indiana, 6 plates.

On the Massachusetts, 4 plates.

Against the discovery and publication of these facts was exerted a great and secret influence. But for the persistence of a few newspapers, the most active of which was the New York World, the inquiry would have failed.

When the truth could be no longer concealed, Mr. Carnegie's company was hauled up and fined \$500,000—for frauds.

Then the same subtle and tremendous power that has so often appeared in these matters was exerted and President Cleveland, a short time before he went out of office, reduced the fine to \$120,000.

Meantime the government continued none the less to buy its armor plate of this convicted swindler, which had already made \$5,000,000 of illegitimate profits on its armor plate deals.

(k) THE MEXICAN WAR.

Proclamation on the Mexican War by the Socialist Party of America, April 25, 1914.

Again we are being lashed into war by those who profit from war.

Capitalist drums are beating, trumpets blaring and forces recruiting.

All this that the nation may be goaded into war and the workers made to consent to shoot and be shot.

For centuries the resources of Mexico have lain dormant. Of late that country has been touched by the magic wand of capitalism and the same development is taking place there that always takes place when modern capitalism clashes with backward feudalism.

Ninety per cent of her population are still landless and propertyless. For hundreds of years her people have struggled against almost insurmountable difficulties to overthrow tyrants who have ruled and ruined them.

For hundreds of years the Mexican people have been in a state of continuous revolt because the great majority are in condition of peonage. Robbed of their land in an agricultural country, the change from the Spanish rule to an independent republic avails the Mexican people little or nothing. So long as peonage remains, revolt must follow revolt.

In vain did the Mexican people elevate Madero to the presidency. Their hope that he would recognize their need and restore the land to the people was not fulfilled. They are still fighting to win Mexico for the Mexicans.

In Sonora, Durango and Chihuahua, where the revolutionists are in control, the people are taking possession of the land. Now, when the revolutionists believe that victory is in sight, the great American republic, controlled by sinister capitalist

interests and without a declaration of war, lands an armed force on Mexican soil. No nation in modern times has ever begun hostilities upon a pretext so shallow as the flag incident at Tampico.

The war will inevitably unite all factions in Mexico against the invaders of their country. Their resistance to the forces of the United States must fail, yet it will cost thousands of lives through bullet, bayonet and disease.

In order to subdue Mexico, the American army must march across that country like Sherman marched to the sea. Our army will leave behind a path of desolation, ruined homes and death.

And finally, when American arms have triumphed, who will be the winners? The American people will not win. The Mexican people will not win. German, English and American capitalists, backed up by our army, will exploit Mexico and the Mexican peon as capitalism always exploits the working people everywhere.

Moreover, the effect of the war on our own country will be deplorable.

War strengthens every force hurtful to civilization, every force hurtful to labor. While war lasts there will be no social legislation. Enough money will be used up in dealing death to human beings to provide old age pensions, accident, sickness and unemployed insurance for every worker in America for a generation.

Every piratical power will seize this opportunity to prey upon our people. Exploiting capitalism will meet every attack by wrapping the American flag around its plunder.

Remember that the capitalist class in Colorado, destroying with machine guns American workers struggling for better conditions, is the very same class that seeks to rule Mexico.

The Socialist party is opposed, as a matter of principle, to every war of aggression. We believe that there is but one justification for war, and that is to fight for freedom. Our freedom has not been assailed by the Mexicans. There is no reason why American workingmen should leave their homes and families to have their bodies mangled on Mexican battlefields.

In the name of two million American Socialists, in the name of thirty million Socialists throughout the world, in the name of humanity and civilization, we protest against the war with Mexico.

By the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Victor Berger,
Adolph Germer,
Geo. H. Goebel,
James H. Maurer,
J. Stitt Wilson.

Attest: Walter Lanfersiek,
Executive Secretary.

Capitalistic Investments in Mexico.
 prepared by William H. Seamon, late of Chihuahua.
 Printed in the Literary Digest of May 2, 1914.)

| Classification | American | English | French | Mexican | Other |
|--|-----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Railway stocks | \$ 235,464,000 | \$ 81,237,800 | ..... | \$125,440,000 | 75,000 |
| Railway bonds | 408,926,000 | 87,680,000 | \$ 17,000,000 | 12,275,000 | 38,535,380 |
| Bank stocks | 7,850,000 | 5,000,000 | 31,000,000 | 31,950,000 | 3,250,000 |
| Bank deposits | 22,700,000 | ..... | ..... | 161,963,042 | 18,560,000 |
| Mines | 223,000,000 | 43,600,000 | 5,000,000 | 7,500,000 | 7,830,000 |
| Smelters | 26,500,000 | ..... | ..... | 7,200,000 | 3,000,000 |
| National bonds | 52,000,000 | 67,000,000 | 60,000,000 | 21,000,000 | ..... |
| Timber lands | 8,100,000 | 10,300,000 | ..... | 5,600,000 | ..... |
| Ranches | 3,150,000 | 2,700,000 | ..... | 14,000,000 | 1,250,000 |
| Farms | 960,000 | 760,000 | ..... | 47,000,000 | 3,800,000 |
| Live stock | 9,000,000 | ..... | ..... | 47,450,000 | 2,760,000 |
| Houses and personal property | 4,500,000 | 680,000 | 19,000,000 | 127,020,000 | 4,750,000 |
| Cotton-mills | 1,200,000 | 450,000 | ..... | 6,000,000 | 3,600,000 |
| Soap-factories, etc. | ..... | ..... | 3,238,000 | 2,780,000 | 895,000 |
| Tobacco-factories | 600,000 | ..... | 178,000 | 4,712,000 | 1,250,000 |
| Breweries | 9,600,000 | 2,780,000 | ..... | 2,822,000 | 3,000,000 |
| Factories, miscellaneous | 760,000 | 8,000,000 | ..... | 3,270,200 | 275,000 |
| Tramways, power, and electric-light plants | ..... | ..... | ..... | 5,155,000 | ..... |
| Stores: | 2,700,000 | 110,000 | 7,000,000 | 2,800,000 | 14,270,000 |
| Wholesale | 1,680,000 | 30,000 | 680,000 | 71,235,000 | 2,175,000 |
| Retail | 15,000,000 | 10,000,000 | ..... | 650,000 | ..... |
| Oil business | 15,000,000 | ..... | ..... | 4,500,000 | 2,500,000 |
| Rubber industry | 3,600,000 | 850,000 | ..... | 1,560,000 | 1,100,000 |
| Professional outfits | 4,000,000 | ..... | ..... | 2,000,000 | 500,000 |
| Insurance | 25,000 | ..... | ..... | 1,575,000 | 3,500,000 |
| Theaters | 260,000 | ..... | ..... | 1,730,000 | 710,000 |
| Hotels | 1,200,000 | 125,000 | 350,000 | 74,000,000 | 200,000 |
| Institutions, public and semi-public | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Total | \$1,057,770,000 | \$321,302,800 | \$143,446,000 | \$793,187,242 | \$118,535,380 |

PART VI.

SOCIALISM THE WAY OUT

1. Reform Forces That Make for Socialism.

(a) MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

Perhaps the most notable development of public ownership is in the sphere of municipal government. In Great Britain 282 cities own and operate their own gas plants; 334 cities own their own lighting plants; 38 own their own street car systems; 51 cities have built and operate slaughter houses. The development of municipal ownership has gone even further in Germany and is almost equally advanced in other European countries. Even in America municipal ownership of water works, gas plants and lighting plants has gained considerable headway and is growing. Thus, under capitalism and without intending to be Socialistic, the principle of public ownership develops.

The advantages of municipal ownership as compared with private ownership are well described in the following leaflet issued by the National office of the Socialist Party:

Possibilities.

Bread at 3 cents a loaf.

Street car service at 2 cents a ride.

Gas (manufactured) at 50 cents per thousand feet.

Water, all you want for a family of six, at 25 cents a month.

Electricity at one-half what it costs now.

Homes for the people with rent one-half what it is now:—

These are a few of the possibilities within easy reach of the people of this country at any time they are ready to do a little thinking and organizing and voting for themselves.

And this isn't all.

Wages of the workers should be raised—and steadily increased;

We should provide care for the sick and the injured workingmen and women;

Old age pensions for all.

A decent burial and provisions for those left behind—wife, children and dependents;

These, too, are possibilities easily within our reach.

Wild and impractical, you say? A dream of a visionary?

Not at all. Every one of these things is perfectly practical.

And we propose to show you in this leaflet just how it can be done—in fact, just how it is actually being done already in many places.

Some Actual Cases.

Let us take some very common practical cases from actual experience to start with so it will be perfectly clear and quite simple and so there can be no question or argument.

The city of Milwaukee, Wis., owns its own water works. It supplies water. That's one of the necessities of life, even in Milwaukee, to 400,000 people. The average rate is 25 cents per family per month—unlimited service—use all you want.

Think of it! Twenty-five cents per family per month. It costs just five times that much in Racine and Superior—cities in the same state.

What makes the difference? A very simple matter.

Milwaukee owns its water works; Racine and Superior do not.

So then it is the public ownership of the water works that turns the trick. It reduces the cost of living to just one-fifth of what it is under private ownership on that item. Meanwhile, the workers have an eight-hour day, trades union wages and good conditions.

There are 30 cities in America of over 100,000 population and scores of smaller ones that own their own water plants, and while they do not all have as good a record as that we have just given, yet they have all achieved similar results.

So there is a whole line of facts to sustain our proposition that municipal ownership reduces the cost of living, increases the returns to labor and improves conditions.

Take another case.

The city of Pasadena, California, owns its own electric light and power plant. The people there get electricity at five cents per kilowatt hour.

Now five cents a k. w. h. is less than half as much as the people have to pay for electricity in Detroit, Mich., or Portland, Ore., where a private company owns the plant.

And what makes the difference here? Same as on the water question. Pasadena owns its plant. The other cities do not. Public ownership again.

For Everybody.

Now you may not use electricity at your house and you may say that cheaper electricity would not reduce your cost of living.

Wait a minute. If all the cities and finally the states should get as wise as the city of Pasadena and establish everywhere the public ownership of electric light and power plants, electricity would be even cheaper than it is in Pasadena.

In that case you would not only light your home with electricity—you would heat with it, cook with it, clean your house with it, run the sewing machine, do the washing and iron the clothes; the farmers would milk their cows, churn their butter and make cheese with electricity—pump water, grind feed, shell corn, thresh wheat and maybe plow and harrow with electricity.

There are a dozen cities in America that have made as good a showing as Pasadena. There are 434 in Great Britain that own and operate their own electric plants. And without exception results have been similar to those above.

Two-Cent Car Fare.

Let us take another item. It costs a good deal in a modern city for the people to get from place to place. Most of us ride at least twice a day on the street cars. That means an expense of not less than \$50 to \$75 per year for each family.

Municipal ownership of street cars in Great Britain has reduced the cost of that service to an average of 1 4-5 cents per ride—a little less than 2 cents. That is less than one-half what it costs here and considerably less than what it used to cost there under private ownership.

There are three cities in America that own street railways—San Francisco, Monroe, La., and St. Louis, Mo., which owns a short line in connection with its water works. San Francisco started its municipal street cars only a little over a year ago. They have raised wages from 27 cents to 37½ cents per hour, reduced hours from 10 to 8 per day, and yet made a profit of \$266,000 the first year.

In Great Britain there are 162 street railways owned by municipalities. And universally, wages are higher, hours shorter, conditions better and rates lower than they were under private ownership.

What San Francisco has done, any city can do.

What England and Germany has done, the United States of America can do.

"A Word to the Wise."

Here is another.

We all use ice in the summer time. It is not only a great comfort—it is a necessity.

We pay, as a rule, about 10 cents for a chunk that is supposed to weigh 25 pounds, but often does not. In other words, ice costs us \$8 a ton.

The United States Government has an ice plant for the manufacture of artificial ice in the Post Office Department at Washington, D. C. It costs at the outside \$2.19 a ton to manufacture the ice. The average cost for delivery is about \$2 a ton. That would make the cost of ice under public ownership \$4.19 a ton delivered, or just about one-half what the private companies charge.

Weatherford, Okla., has a municipal ice plant that uses the exhaust steam from the municipal water and light plant, and the cost of producing the ice is as low as \$1 a ton. The cost of delivery is \$2, thus making the total actual cost of ice \$3, delivered. They sell it at \$8 per ton, thus making an enormous profit for the city, which they use in paying for their water and light plant. But it shows that ice can be manufactured and sold at \$4 per ton, and a profit made at that.

We are safe, therefore, in putting the cost of manufactured ice at \$4 a ton delivered—just one-half what it costs when we buy from the ice trust.

Gas at 50 Cents per Thousand.

It costs us in our American cities from 80 cents to \$1.25 per thousand cubic feet for gas. The average is around \$1.

Now the sworn statement of the Milwaukee Gas Light Company to the Wisconsin Railroad Rate Commission—you can send to the commission at Madison, Wis., and get the reports, if you want the details—show that gas is actually manufactured and distributed by that company for 39 1/5 cents per thousand feet. And nearly two-thirds of all they handle they buy of a coke company and costs them only 19½ cents per thousand. The company is making a profit of a million dollars a year.

Fifty-cent gas is therefore easily possible under a proper management of municipal ownership.

There are more than 25 cities in America that already own municipal gas plants. Over 250 gas plants are owned by municipalities in Great Britain and 758 in Germany. Everywhere the story is the same—better wages, shorter hours for labor, a lower price for the consumer and a profit to the city.

Improved Conditions of Labor.

To speak specifically of labor conditions:

Eleven cities in England upon taking over their public enterprises reduced the average hours per week from 80 to 60 and continued to reduce them.

Glasgow alone spent \$515,040 per year in increased wages, shortened hours and improved conditions of its street car employees.

According to Mr. Albert Baker, former manager of the London street railways, municipal ownership of street car lines in England has reduced the hours of street car men 48 per cent and increased the wages not less than 42 per cent.

The gains to labor in better wages, shorter hours and improved conditions amounted to \$200,000 per year in London; and nearly as much in Liverpool.

And these are only typical cases chosen out of hundreds.

These improved conditions follow municipal ownership everywhere.

It Pays.

And the cities make well on their municipal enterprises at that. In spite of the low rates and better wages, Milwaukee clears as high as \$200,000 per year on its water plant. The city of Berlin, in Germany, clears \$4,500,000 per year off its several different municipal enterprises. Six cities in England for which we have figures at hand cleared \$1,440,135 off their gas, water and markets alone in a single year. Glasgow made \$1,837,704 net profits off its municipal street cars in a single year.

The city of Cincinnati owns a railroad 336 miles long crossing three states. It is called the Cincinnati Southern and runs south from Cincinnati, Ohio, through Kentucky to Chattanooga, Tennessee. It is worth \$40,000,000. It is paying for itself and producing a revenue of \$526,816 per year over and above all expenses. So you see municipal ownership pays. It pays better wages; it pays in shorter hours; it pays in lower rates—and, besides, has millions left for the "common good," as they call it in England.

How It Works.

Here, then, is our proposition:

A city owns a water plant. It reduces the cost of water thereby to one-fifth of what it is under private ownership. It raises the wages of its workmen to the trade union standard, reduces the hours of labor, gives them accident insurance, sick benefits and old age pensions. And on top of all that it makes an annual profit of \$200,000.

Now, let us take the first year's profit of \$200,000 and buy a gas plant, to be owned and operated by the city. Let us reduce the price of gas so that all of the people may use it. Let us raise the wages of the people employed on the municipal gas plant to the trade union standard, establish the eight-hour day, give them accident insurance, sick benefits and old age pensions. We shall then still have left in a city of, say 500,000 population, a profit of \$50,000. At any rate, this has been accomplished in many cities.

Now, let us take the \$50,000 profit we have made on the municipal gas plant the first year and add it to the \$200,000 profit on the second year's operation of the municipal water plant, and let us buy or build a municipal electric light plant; raise wages, shorten hours, improve working conditions and give accident insurance, sick benefits and old age pensions to the workers there. And then, basing our judgment again upon actual experience in hundreds of cities, we shall have, in a city of this size, a profit of at least \$100,000 a year.

Next let us take the third year's profit of \$200,000 on the municipal water plant, the second year's profit of \$50,000 on the municipal gas plant and the first year's profit of \$100,000 on the electric light plant, and with this accumulated sum let us buy out the street car system; raise wages, shorten hours, improve working conditions and give accident insurance, sick benefits and old age pensions to the workers on the street car lines. Let us also reduce the street car fares at least to 2 cents a ride (as they have done in England under municipal ownership). And we still shall have a profit of several thousand dollars left every year on the street railway operation, if we do as well as other cities have done.

You will see, we are accumulating quite a sum in the fund for the common good.

Let us take a part of it and build a municipal ice plant, again establishing the eight-hour day, trade union wages, accident insurance, sick benefits and old age pensions for the workers there, thus extending the benefits to another section of the working class. Let us reduce the price of ice to about \$4 a ton, one-half of what it costs now, and we still shall have some profit left every year.

Let us establish a municipal coal yard in the same way and operate it under the same conditions.

Let us build a municipal bakery in the same way and operate it under the same conditions.

Let us buy land and instead of allowing the increase to go to land speculators and monopolists, use it to build houses for the people, to be rented at cost or sold on easy terms, minus all the profit and graft that go to contractors, landlords and speculators under private ownership.

In short, let us extend the principle of municipal ownership in every direction, as far and as fast as possible.

Municipal Ownership Under Capitalist Control Will Not Do.

But here a word of warning.

Municipal ownership under capitalist control and management will not do.

In all the old political parties, even the most progressive of them, there are capitalistic owners of public utilities. They will fight to the last ditch against municipal ownership, because their profits are at stake. Or when they cannot stem the tide any longer, they will try to unload their properties on the city at exorbitant prices. Or they will try to cripple the municipal plants in order that they may discredit municipal ownership and thereby get control again. Or, finally, at the very best, capitalistic control of municipal ownership turns the profits into the public treasury to reduce taxes, instead of lowering rates and increasing returns to labor. Thus with the old parties, reform parties, or any kind of capitalistic parties in control of your city government, municipal ownership is not safe, and you cannot be sure of securing the benefits we have outlined here.

So you cannot trust municipal ownership to the Republicans, the Democrats or the Progressives, or any other capitalistic or reform party.

The Socialist Party, on the other hand, is made up of the working class whose economic interests demand municipal ownership, managed in the interest of the working class and in the interests of the people as a whole. It is the only party, therefore, that can be trusted to really establish municipal ownership and carry it out on the right principles. It is the only party that has a real constructive program in regard to municipal ownership. It fights for municipal ownership, not in the interests of capital, but in the interests of labor; not to reduce taxes, but to raise wages and reduce the cost of living; not to enrich the few, but to better serve the whole people.

Therefore we say:

Vote the Socialist ticket and vote it straight.

It will help us get municipal ownership and will insure its operation upon correct principles.

It will help us solve our problems here in this city now; and it will help us to carry these principles into the state and nation later on.

A Few Statistics on Municipal Ownership as Compared with Private Ownership.

1. **Wages are higher and hours of labor shorter.** Taking first some examples from our own country the table below shows that in the cases cited the average hours of labor are two and one-half less per day under public ownership than private. And the wages are an average of \$375 per year higher.

Hours and Wages in Public and Private Service.

("City for the People," pp. 164-165.)

| | Average Hours Per Day. | Average Pay Per Year. |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Private— | | |
| Western Union Operators..... | 12 | \$540 |
| Philadelphia Street Railway..... | 12 | 720 |
| N. Y. Brooklyn L. Roads..... | 10 | 700 |
| Boston West End Street Railway Em..... | 10 | 520 |
| Brooklyn Bridge | 10 | 700 |
| Average | 11 | \$620 |
| Public— | | |
| Railway Mail Clerks..... | 7 | \$1030 |
| Postal Carriers | 8 | 900 |
| Brooklyn Bridge Railway Train..... | 8 | 1000 |
| Boston Police | 7½ | 1210 |
| Brooklyn Bridge | 8 | 1000 |
| Average | 7¾ | \$ 993 |

The following table, taken from the Report of the Civic Federation, Part 1, Vol. I, p. 280, shows the sharp contrast between public and private employ:

Wages and Hours of Labor on Municipal and Private English Tramways.

| | Hours Per Week. | Maximum Pay Per Week. |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Municipalities— | | |
| Glasgow | 54 | \$7.44 |
| Manchester | 54 | 7.44 |
| Liverpool | 60 | 7.50 |
| London C. C. | 60 | 9.00 |
| Municipal average | 57 | \$7.84 |
| Companies— | | |
| London United | 70 | \$9.24 |
| Dublin United | 70 | 6.78 |
| Norwich | 70 | 6.72 |
| Bristol | 70 | 6.12 |
| Company average | 70 | \$7.20 |

In other words, those who work for the people work 13 hours less and get 64 cents more every week than those who work for the private companies.

The best and fairest method of comparison is to take the hours of labor and wages under public and private ownership in the same city, where all conditions are practically the same in both cases. Fortunately this has been done for us by Prof. Commons in the Civic Federation Report on Private and Municipal Operation, Part 1, Vol. I, p. 107, as follows:

Minimum Wages and Hours for Common Labor in American Cities. Public and Private Enterprises.

| City— | Municipal. Wage. | Hours. | Private. Wage. | Hours. |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|
| Syracuse | \$1.50 | 8 | \$1.50 | 10 |
| Detroit | 1.75 | 8 | 1.80 | 9 |
| Allegheny | 2.75 | 8 | 1.75 | 10 |
| Wheeling | 1.85 | 8-9 | 1.85 | 10 |
| Cleveland | 1.76 | 8 | 1.75 | 10 |
| Indianapolis | 1.60 | 8 | 1.50 | 10 |
| Chicago | 2.00 | 8 | 1.75 | 10 |
| New Haven | 1.50 | 8 | 1.50 | 9 |
| Richmond | 2.00 | 9 | 1.20 | 9 |
| Atlanta | 1.00 | 10 | 1.00 | 10 |
| Average | \$1.77 | 8½ | \$1.56 | 9¾ |

In other words, those who work for the people work on an average of 1½ hours less and get 21 cents more every day.

These, of course, are only a few illustrations that might be extended beyond limits. It is generally conceded, we believe, that the public is always more considerate and just in its treatment of labor than private corporations. (See "City for the People," Chapter 1. "Public Ownership of Public Utilities." Also "The Story of New Zealand," by the same author. Also "Municipal Ownership in Great Britain," Jan., 1906, Bulletin, U. S. Bureau of Labor.)

Big Money for the City in Municipal Ownership.

From Sir Henry Fowler's "Return of Reproductive Undertakings in England," brought up to the 31st day of March, 1902, it appears, taking 193 water works, 97 gas works, 102 electricity supplies, and 45 tramways, that they earned an average net profit (after the payment of interest, depreciation and debt repayment) of \$2,786,383. These same enterprises have reduced their indebtedness out of earnings to the extent of \$60,000,000, and have \$18,000,000 more in their sinking fund. Certainly, from the taxpayers' point of view, municipal ownership is not a failure.—(Quoted in The American Political Science Review of May, 1907, Volume 1, No. 3.)

Annual Profits Under Municipal Ownership.

| | Gas. | Water. | Markets. | Total Net Profit. |
|------------------|------------|-----------|----------|----------------------|
| Birmingham | \$139,830 | \$ 20,455 | \$18,800 | \$179,085 |
| Manchester | 152,945 | 112,265 | 73,355 | 338,565 |
| Liverpool | private | 22,500 | 61,715 | 84,215 |
| Glasgow | 147,500 | 210,000 | 16,500 | 374,000 |
| Bradford ..... | ..... | 2,515 | 10,925 | 368,045 |
| Leeds | loss 2,035 | 37,145 | 61,480 | 96,225 |

Total in the six cities \$1,440,135

("Municipalities at Work," Dolman, p. 140.)

The city of Berlin clears \$4,500,000 per year from its municipal enterprises. ("Encyclopedia of Social Reform," Article on Berlin.)

(b) PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.

Perhaps most striking of all the capitalistic developments in the direction of Socialism is the government ownership movement. Sixty-nine out of 78 nations already publicly own and operate all or parts of their railway systems. Practically every nation, with the exception of the United States, owns its telegraph system. Other nations have inaugurated, to some extent at least, the government ownership in mines, forests, waterways and other natural resources and public utilities.

Moreover, the movement in the direction of public ownership is going on with increasing rapidity and almost without exception once a nation moves in this direction it never goes back.

Public Ownership of Railroads.

(Excerpts from a Pamphlet by Carl D. Thompson, Published by the Socialist Party.)

Of the 78 nations of earth 69, or all but 9, own more or less of their railroads.

Nine nations own all of their roads publicly.

Fourteen nations own 95 per cent or more of their railroad mileage; 19 own seven-eighths or more of their total mileage; 27 own over four-fifths, and 60 of the whole 78 nations own more than one-half of their total railroad mileage.

Public ownership is practically an accomplished fact outside of the United States.

The following table presents the situation as nearly as we can get at it at the present time:

Railroad Mileage of the World.

PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY OWNED.

| | |
|---|----|
| Total number of nations listed..... | 73 |
| Having nationally owned railroads | 69 |
| Having no public ownership | 9 |
| Owning all | 9 |
| Owning 95% and over | 14 |
| Owning 7/8 and over..... | 19 |
| Owning 3/4 and over..... | 27 |
| Owning 1/2 and over | 60 |

The result of government ownership of railways for the last twenty-five or thirty years has been a story of successful achievement from the very beginning. In the first place the enormous incomes from railroad operations instead of pouring into the hands of a few irresponsible capitalists, as they are under private ownership, are turned into service of the common good. The people actually get lower rates, they get better service and more of it. When profits arise rates are reduced, or the service

extended and improved. Labor is better treated. Over-capitalization and fraud are practically eliminated; unfair rates and discrimination are unknown—all are treated alike. And finally, in spite of heavy indebtedness incurred in the process of nationalization, the public roads have been a most remarkable financial success.

The Belgium state railroads have made a net profit for the government of \$11,750,000 per year, or a total of \$251,000,000 in eight years. Germany cleared in 1904, \$375,000,000 and in 1905 the net surplus, after all expenses for interest, new equipment, extension, depreciation, etc., were paid, was over \$120,000,000. Prussia clears enough off of her railroads to cover fully one-half of all the other government expenses. In 1897 the net profit on the railroads was \$238,000,000. The net earnings of the government railroads in New South Wales in 1904 were \$5,800,000. Austria-Hungary clears \$5,782,200 per year; South Australia, \$2,400,000; New Zealand, \$3,700,000. Even Brazil, in South America, saved its people \$2,000,000 per year on its government railroads. ("U. S. Consular Report" No. 205, October, 1907, p. 291; "Railways, Trusts and the People," p. 347 and 386; Document 65, 56th Congress, first session; "Everybody's," February, 1907, p. 182; "Arena," February and March, 1907, "Railway Experience in Germany"; "Statistical Acct. of Australia and New Zealand," 1903-4.) And so on through the whole list of nations that own their railroads.

We do not think that the railroads of the country should be run primarily to make profit; nor that the profit should be used as it is in Germany to pay the other expenses of the government. It should be used either to improve or extend the service or to reduce the cost. We believe the theory of New Zealand is more nearly the correct one. In that country it is the rule that as soon as the profits on the railroads go above 3 per cent, the rates are reduced. And reductions have been made amounting to as high as 20 and 40 per cent in a single year. If such a reduction as that had been made on the railroads in this country in any recent year, it would have meant a saving of \$500,000,000 to our people. But while the people of New Zealand, because they go on the idea that the railroads should be operated for service and not for profit, have the advantage of a constantly reducing rate, we in this country have seen rates increased.

Advantages to Labor.

Wages.—New Zealand after establishing the government ownership of the railroads has steadily raised the wages of the employes since 1896, amounting in some cases to as much as 60 per cent. ("Story of New Zealand," Parsons.) Switzerland upon taking over her railways raised the wages 15 per cent. ("Railways, Trusts and the People," p. 365.) The average wages in Germany under government ownership are \$45.00 per year higher than in England under private ownership. And when we consider that the German employes have in addition to their wages an allowance averaging over \$100 per year towards house rent, and in addition to all that have insurance against accident, sickness and death besides, it will be seen that the wages are certainly more than \$150 per year higher on the government roads in Germany than on the private roads in England. And that does not really show the full advantage of public ownership in this respect, because a dollar in wages means more in Germany than in England—the general wage level is higher in England.

It is often claimed that wages are higher on the private roads in America than on the public roads of Europe. This is undoubtedly true; but it must be remembered that the general wage level and the cost of living are much higher here than

there. The only fair method is to compare conditions in a certain country before and after public ownership; or at least to compare conditions under public ownership with conditions in a country of practically the same conditions.

That the change to government ownership in this country would result in a reduction of hours and an increase of wages is assured. Each of the measures presented in Congress for the nationalization of railways, the first one January 3, 1900 (56th Congress, First Session, document 53, "Railway Nationalization"), a second one in Feb., 1907 ("Government Ownership of Railroads," speech on Senate bill 8436), and a third one in 1912, presented by Victor L. Berger, the first Socialist congressman, all provided for an **eight-hour day** and for an **increase of wages**.

Hours of Labor.—The contrast between public and private ownership in the matter of hours of labor is even greater. Hours of labor on our American railroads are tragic. Men are worked to the very limits of human endurance. What the average is we cannot know. But it is known that thousands of men work 12 to 18 hours per day; that it is no unusual thing for them to be kept on duty 20 and even 36 hours without relief. Indeed, in extreme cases, 40 to 48 hours of continuous service have been performed. In England, where the railroads are also privately owned, "the Board of Trade found in one month 3,971 instances of engineers and firemen working more than 18 hours, and 20,273 more than 15 hours, and there are plenty of cases of 'days' ranging from 20 to 33 hours, if you can imagine a 33-hour day." "Railways, Trusts and the People," p. 468. In a personal investigation of the hours of labor of telegraphers in Wisconsin the author found the average about 14 per day; 20 to 36 hours were not at all uncommon, and in a few cases men had been on duty 72 consecutive hours without rest.

To be sure, some states, on ground of "the safety of the traveling public" (never out of consideration for the men), have tried now and then to regulate these matters. The laws are seldom enforced, it seems, but even if they were, what would it mean? In Georgia they would be limited to 13 hours per day; in Ohio 15. In Colorado and Nebraska the law used to limit the hours to 18; in Minnesota to 20; and in New York and Michigan 24. "There is something pathetic in such rules and regulations. If it was necessary for New York and Michigan to forbid the companies working their men longer than 24 hours without an eight-hour rest, the questions naturally arise, How long would the companies work the men if unrestrained? and How much can the railway men stand anyhow?" ("R'ys. T. & P.," p. 467.)

Nowhere on earth are such criminal hours of labor exacted—nowhere except, perhaps, in some other countries where, as here, the railroads are privately owned. In Italy on the government roads 10 hours is the limit; in Switzerland 8; in New South Wales 8; in Prussia 11 for general employes, for switchmen 8, and engineers 10. One may almost say that the **eight-hour day** is being established everywhere under government ownership, for it has already come in many departments (in all departments in some countries), and the tendency everywhere is in that direction.

Rest Days, Holidays and Vacations.—These also are much more liberally provided under government ownership. In Germany every active employe is entitled to **two holidays per month**, and trainmen must be permitted to rest at their homes not less than 10 consecutive hours daily; in Switzerland 52 holidays are allowed each year in addition to a continuous vacation of 8 days. ("Foreign Laws relating to R'y Employes," Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor.)

By far the larger part of the railway employes here

work every Sunday (without extra pay) and every day in the year; a great proportion work at night, and in cases of accidents and emergencies, which are altogether too frequent, must work Sundays and nights as well as days.

Better Housing of the Employees.—In at least some of the foreign countries the governments provide another advantage for their employes which is unique and suggestive. In New Zealand the government itself builds houses and rents them to its employes. This protects them from excessive rents by affording a means of escape from the private landlord. Matters of this kind are a decided advantage to labor by helping to reduce the cost of living.

And besides, the New Zealand government makes a special provision for workingmen's homes by advancing them money with which to build. ("Story of New Zealand," p. 222.) Germany does even better, having built over 40,800 dwellings which are rented to the working men at a low figure. (Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1907.)

All the employes of the Prussian state railways receive allowances for house rent amounting to \$28 a year for the lowest class; \$75 for the fourth class; \$125 for the third class; \$160 for the second class; and \$200 for the first class. Thus again the government ownership of railroads is used as a means of protecting the working class in the matter of cost of living. ("R'ys, T. & P.," p. 349.) The railway administration of Prussia owned 30,840 houses of this kind at the end of 1899; in 1905 the number had increased to 40,800 ("Prussian Railway Administration," An. Am. A. Pol. & So. Science, Mar., 1907), while loans of public money to the amount of \$135,000 have been granted to building societies, which in this way have provided 1,266 dwellings for the working people. ("The German Workman," Dawson, p. 118.)

Accident Insurance, Sick Benefits and Old Age Pensions.—The establishment of public ownership is almost always followed by the inauguration of a system of accident insurance and old-age pensions. Under private ownership, on the other hand, it requires a constant legal fight and interminable litigation to compel the railroads to provide for the killed and injured. And this is all the worse because the management of our private roads is so much more reckless than that of government roads.

Advantages to the Public:

Rates, Both Passenger and Freight, Are Lower Under Public Ownership.—A careful study of this subject shows that it would be possible under public ownership to reduce the passenger rates to at least one cent a mile, the freight rates similarly, while at the same time improving the system, increasing the efficiency of operation, and improving the conditions of labor.

Frank Parsons, who has made perhaps the most careful study of the comparative rates under public and private ownership (the Arena, Mar., 1907), says that both freight and passenger rates are lower in Germany than in England or the United States. The average passenger rate is less than one cent a mile against two cents in the United States, and 2½ cents in Great Britain. Mr. Larabee, in discussing this subject, shows that the average fare per mile is 2.15 cents in the United States under private ownership. Under public ownership, the average rates are as follows: Austria, 1.67 cents; Germany, 1.17 cents; Belgium, 1.18 cents; Denmark, 1.20 cents; France, 1.45 cents; Italy, 1.64 cents; Russia, 1.45 cents.

And besides, under government ownership the passenger traffic is handled in a different way. For example, the zone system is quite generally put in operation, and there are offered

second, third and even fourth class tickets at greatly reduced rates. Under this system the rate is one cent a mile or less for long distances and runs down to about one-third of a cent a mile. One can travel 457 miles for \$1.60. A similar service in this country would cost \$9.14. The result of this system was to reduce the rates fully 50 per cent and the stimulus to travel was so great the traffic doubled and the receipts increased in spite of the reduction. ("R'ys, T. & P.," p. 375.) In Switzerland, the government roads offer tickets, good over the entire railway system of the country for one month, for \$15 second class, and \$11 third class. Tickets good over the entire system for an entire year are sold for \$59 second class, and \$45 third class.

Under these provisions, Larabee, in his "Railway Problems," and Todd, in his "American and European Railroads," and Cowles, in his "General Freight and Passenger Post," show that the rates under government ownership are reduced in some cases to as low as three-fifths of a cent per mile in Germany, France, Austria, and one-tenth of a cent a mile on workingmen's tickets in Belgium. J. D. Miller, in his "Finance and Transportation," has shown that on one form of tickets in Hungary, the workingmen are able to travel 944 miles for \$2.70, third class. Similar services in this country would cost \$18.80, or seven times as much. In Switzerland and New Zealand the government also makes special reduced and excursion rates for school children, thus aiding the cause of education.

Speaking of freight rates, Prof. Parsons says, "There is an impression that freight rates in Germany are much higher than in the United States. This impression has resulted from the comparison of average rates without explanation of what the average rate is." The German freight rate includes express. It also includes large amounts of traffic, which in this country are handled by private fast freight trains. And besides, the German roads carry an immense amount of mail and baggage for the parcel post, for which they get no pay. The American roads, on the other hand, receive enormous sums from these sources. Therefore, Prof. Parsons concludes, "making allowance for express and mail, freight, etc., the German commissioners, recently in this country, conclude that a proper figure for our average freight rate would be 1.44 cents per ton-mile, while the figure for the Prussian roads would be .95 cents. ("Railways, Trusts and the People," Parsons, p. 339.)

On the private roads of Great Britain the average ton-mile rate is 80 per cent higher than the average German rate. It is therefore clear that the passenger rates are decidedly lower under government ownership and freight rates at least considerably so.

Better Service.—Practically every authority upon the subject of government roads agrees that the change to public ownership results in an improved service. More and better trains are run. The tickets are made in greater variety so as to better serve the convenience of the people. For example, workingmen's tickets are issued, which are of great service to the working class, but in addition monthly and even yearly tickets are sold at most surprisingly low rates, which are a great convenience and saving to business and professional men, doctors and traveling men, as well as the general public. In Germany at one time private car lines supplied all the sleepers, as they do in this country. But now under government ownership the state runs sleeping cars of its own and the service is much improved. The Germans do not seem to appreciate the idea of having to balance themselves on the back of their heels and the nape of their necks to undress and having to sleep on a shelf. Accommodations which in this country would cost \$7 are provided in the

sleeping cars on the German roads for \$2.50, about one-third as much.

In the matter of freight rates the greater serviceableness of government roads is shown in many ways. In the first place it is agreed by all authorities that the vicious discriminations which have been the curse of private ownership are unknown. On the other hand, the tariffs are simple and flexible and are made to serve in every way the needs of commerce more fully than the private roads.

Greater Safety of Travel and Fewer Murderous Railroad Wrecks Under Public Ownership.—Of all the railroads in the world those of our country are the most destructive, reckless and murderous. During the single year of 1912, 10,585 people were killed and 169,538 people injured. It is estimated that our railroads in America have killed more than a hundred thousand people and crippled over a million more. The private roads here are much worse than the private roads of Great Britain. The latter carry annually 400,000,000 more passengers than the American roads and killed only 166 passengers in 1905; and while the railroads in America killed 10,000 people in 1904, the railroads of Germany which are owned and operated by the government killed on the entire system only 74. Furthermore, while the safety of railway travel has slowly but steadily increased in other countries, it has decreased here in America; while the number of persons killed in proportion to the number of passengers carried has steadily decreased in other countries, it has steadily increased in America. (Ridgeways, Feb. 9, 1907.) The railroads of America under private ownership are seven times as destructive of life and property as are the railroads owned by the government in Austria-Hungary and six times as destructive as the government railroads of Germany. One trainman out of every 364 that are employed is killed by the private American railroads in every year, and one out of 22 is injured. "Railroading is more perilous than war, and even more fatal than the most mortal of all wars, the great conflict of the sixties." ("Railroad Nationalization," p. 60.)

The safety attained by the German government roads is one of their great achievements. There are more people killed on the private roads every week in America than are killed on the German roads in a year, and this in spite of the fact that there are 200,000,000 more passengers carried on the railroads of Germany than on ours. Our roads killed over six times as many and injured 25 times as many passengers as the Prussian roads. ("R'ys, T. & P.," p. 330.)

Prof. Parsons has prepared a careful statement, compiled from the reports of different countries, which shows that "railway travel is safest in Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Australia (all government roads); that it is more dangerous in Great Britain (private) than in any of the above mentioned countries, and that in the United States it is most dangerous of all; about 6 times as dangerous as in Germany; 17 times as dangerous as in Belgium; 3 times as dangerous as in France, and 4 times as dangerous as in Great Britain." And in every case the greatest safety is attained in the countries where the railroads are owned and operated by the government; and the number of persons killed in proportion to the number of passengers carried increases exactly in proportion to the degree of private ownership. ("R'ys, T. & P.," p. 444.)

Public Ownership Would Tend to a More Stable Financial Condition in the Country.—Railroad stocks and bonds constitute about 75 per cent of the material with which the stock jobbers and brokers gamble on Wall Street. And this railroad capital

fluctuates in stocks anywhere from 30 per cent to 300 per cent, and in bonds from 5 to 100 per cent each and every year. It is this fitful and appalling rise and fall in the stocks and bonds of railroads that constitutes one of the most disturbing elements in the modern financial world. The manipulation of these things by the stock gamblers is often the cause of a demoralization in the country, of panics and hard times with all their damning and disheartening effects. Over \$700,000,000 worth of railroad bonds and \$100,000,000 worth of shares of railroad stock are sold on the New York Stock Exchange in a single year. And yet all this enormous railway capital is the subject of every panic, accident, combination, frown of fortune, and fury of frenzied finance. The terrible panics of 1854-7 and 1873 are by many attributed directly to excessive railroad building and speculation. No less an authority than A. T. Harley attributes the financial crisis of 1884 to the same cause. The crash of 1866 was largely due to speculation in railroad stocks; the corner of Northern Pacific in 1901 caused a Wall Street panic; and every one well knows that today the stock market is the center of the gigantic gambling by which every economic and financial interest of the nation is imperiled.

Transportation constitutes the very foundation of modern society. If this is subject to these perilous fluctuations and uncertainties, is it any wonder that our financial world is so unstable? Let us suppose now that the government owns these roads. This great field of vacillating value is then removed from the realm of stock gambling, redeemed by the substitution of stable capital backed by government securities. These securities have a constant value. Their value is seldom or never the subject of speculation or uncertainty. The interest will be paid promptly, the principal will be met. The field of gambling is thus destroyed and the opportunity for this terrible disturbing element is removed. ("Railway Nationalization," p. 9.)

Advantages in Operation.

Vast Economies Possible Under Public Ownership.—It is a well known fact that great saving could be effected if the railroads of this country should be operated under one unified system, such as would be inaugurated under public ownership. For example, the salaries paid to railroad presidents in this country are enormous and excessive. From \$25,000 to \$100,000 per year are paid to these men, in spite of the fact they represent financial manipulation rather than any actual service in the management of the railroads. The superintendents are the men who are trained in railroading and do the managing. Under public ownership in Prussia we see the contrast. There the president of a railway division gets \$2,750 per year; the Minister of Public Works, who is general head of the government system, \$9,000 per year. These salaries cannot be said to be insufficient, for they secure for the government the very best men for this work. In this country our college presidents often receive only from \$3,000 to \$5,000 per year, and the members of the president's cabinet get only \$8,000. The total saving estimated by Mr. Lewis, in his "Railway Nationalization," on this alone would be \$9,000,000 per year.

Another item that would be saved under public ownership would be in the abolition of "law expenses." The railroads expend in a single year as high as five million dollars for this purpose. It is not at all unlikely that four-fifths of this expense would be saved under public ownership. This would amount to \$4,000,000 per year. Another saving would be effected by the abolition of unnecessary competitive advertising. The saving on this is estimated at \$18,000,000 per year. Other items are—
increase of passenger service due to the lowering of rates, the

abolition of passes, the exclusive use of the shortest routes in passenger and freight service, the consolidation of freight and passenger depots, etc.

Upon each of these items Mr. Lewis has made the most careful estimate based on the unquestioned data of past railroad experience in this country (see pages 28 to 38). The total amount of saving possible under public ownership is estimated at \$191,879,000 per year. Another very careful estimate has been made by Prof. Ely, in his "Socialism and Social Reform." He places the figures at \$200,000,000 per year. As these estimates are based upon experience of the railroads and the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, it is reasonably certain that they are practically correct.

With such an enormous saving as this every year, consider for a moment what vast improvements would be possible in our system of transportation.

2. A Better System for the Improvement and Extension of Railroad Facilities.—The really great and important railway undertakings of this country have in every case been initiated not by private enterprise, but by the government. Such was notoriously the case in the building of the great trans-continental systems, such as the Union Pacific, Northern Pacific and Southern Pacific. A vast empire of land and millions of dollars were given outright to these corporations in order to get them to build the railroads.

And this shows how empty is the objection raised against public ownership on the ground that the government would not furnish a sufficient initiative required for great, progressive undertakings and for extensions and improvements. As a matter of fact, it was the government in nearly every case and not private capital that made the vast railway systems of today possible.

And besides, there is reason to believe that the government would be much more prompt in the inauguration of improvements and new inventions than private companies are. The experience of foreign nations demonstrates that improvements are made even more rapidly there than here. The reluctance and tardiness with which new inventions and safety devices and similar improvements are adopted by our private railway systems in this country is strikingly illustrated in the case of air brakes, the safety coupler, and grade crossings.

And as for a system of extension and the building of new lines, it is clear that the needs of new districts are much more likely to be provided for by public enterprise than by private. Private roads will build only when there is a sufficient traffic to ensure a big profit. The public which has service rather than profit for its purpose will build where the roads are needed. A comparison of railway mileage in the United States shows that the present distribution is very unjust to the various sections. Some are overcrowded with roads and others are almost entirely neglected. This is of course natural under the system of private ownership, since every railway company will try to crowd its systems into the more densely populated parts of the country in order to win from the other companies the paying business. And similarly all the companies will naturally decline to build their roads into the sections that are least populated and therefore need them the most. The welfare of the people demands exactly the opposite policy. And under public ownership this is always attained. We see it splendidly illustrated in New Zealand and in our own postal system here.

Methods of Nationalization.

1. Purchase of Stock.—In Germany, we are told by Mr. Russell, in his "Uprising of the Many," the German government

began by buying stock first in one and then another of the various railway systems, and thus gradually established the government ownership of about seven-eighths of the total mileage there. However, the foreign nations have been much more careful in safeguarding their interests in the matter of railways than have our people in America. This makes the provision for public ownership easier. The Prussian law of 1838 established a system of progressive taxation on the net earnings of the railroad companies. All moneys realized from these taxes were to be used by the state in purchasing railway shares. And then all income on such stock must be used for the same purpose and no stock so purchased can again be put on the market. In this way the railroads are made to provide beforehand the money with which to purchase them. The railroads buy themselves out. In this way the transition of public ownership works itself out automatically. In addition to this the government also built and extended railroads.

The transition was gradual. For thirty years private and public roads were operated side by side in competition. And as a result of this experience the government more and more determined that public ownership was the correct policy.

2. **Outright Purchase.**—In Switzerland the method was somewhat different. Anticipating the possibility of national purchase, the government had passed, in 1883 and 1895, a law subjecting the railway companies' accounts to rigid regulation and inspection. This became the basis for the purchase later on. The question of the purchase of the railroads was submitted to a general referendum in 1898, and was carried by an overwhelming majority. The details of the method of purchase were provided carefully and the government appropriated \$200,000,000 in 1899 for the purchasing of the roads. In accord with the laws previously passed, the government was allowed to take possession of the roads on giving three years' notice and paying 25 times the average net profits for the ten years preceding the announcement of purchase. Or the government could pay the construction value—whichever method of computation produced the larger sum, deduction being made for any sum necessary to bring the road up to a standard condition. The final sum actually paid for the four railroads now in the government possession was \$186,078,000. ("R'ys, T. & P.," p. 362.)

In general the methods of securing government ownership have been a gradual purchase of one after another of the systems. In some cases, however, as in Switzerland and Italy, the whole system has been taken over practically at once, and the money appropriated out of the general government funds for this purpose.

3. **Eminent Domain.**—And if the railroads should refuse to sell, the government always has at hand the right to eminent domain—a perfectly legal and constitutional method of forcing sale and one with which the railroads and the public are perfectly familiar.

The experience of Cincinnati is interesting and illuminating. It is the only city in the world that owns a railroad. It was built by the city, 1869-1879. The city issued bonds and built the road and leases it to a private company. This company pays such a rental that it covers all the cost of the bonds, interest and all. Under the terms of the lease the company has recently built some \$3,000,000 terminal facilities and a \$750,000 bridge in the city and it turns over a clear profit of \$450,000 to the city annually. In other words, by building and owning this railroad the city of Cincinnati has acquired a property now valued at \$40,000,000, is paying for it out of the proceeds it makes and laying aside for the city funds nearly half a million every year in clear profits over and above all expenditures for interest on

bonds, sinking funds and all. (Pamphlet published by the Board of Trustees of the Cincinnati and Southern Railway, Cincinnati, Ohio; also bulletin of the Johns-Hopkins University for January-February, 1894, on "The Cincinnati Railway.")

In some cases the establishment of government ownership is effected by the government foreclosing on mortgages which it holds upon the railway systems. The Social Democrats in the state legislature of Wisconsin have repeatedly urged this as a possible method for the United States. Between 1876 and 1912, 739 different railway companies in the United States have been in the hands of receivers, that is, practically owned by the government. In addition to this, 988 other roads have been sold under foreclosure during the last 37 years. (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1912, p. 327.) Such situations would afford splendid opportunities for an alert government bent on public ownership to get possession of railroads. The Socialists suggest that whenever this occurs and a road is taken over by the government, reorganized and put upon a paying basis, that instead of handing it back to private enterprise, it shall be kept. Had this policy been pursued up to the present time a very large proportion of the total railway mileage of the country would already belong to the government.

Some object to public ownership because they think that the government would have to contract an enormous debt in order to acquire the roads. On the contrary, however, as we have shown, it is possible for the railroads to be nationalized without the increase of taxation, or any additional burdening of the people.

They can be made to pay for themselves.

According to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the actual value of the railroads of the country was less than \$9,000,000,000 in 1900. The value now could not exceed \$11,000,000,000 or \$12,000,000,000. Let us take the latter figure as a basis. The government could borrow money on bonds at probably two per cent; certainly not more than three per cent. We will take the latter. The interest charge then on the debt created, if we paid the \$12,000,000,000 for the railroads and borrowed the money at three per cent would be \$360,000,000 per year.

But the present net income of the railroads is \$833,000,000. (See Van Wagenen's "Government Ownership of Railways," G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1910, pp. 46-7.) On that basis the people of the United States by purchasing the railways would be \$437,000,000 to the good per year from the very outset.

However, even if it should be necessary in order to facilitate the matter, for the government to assume a debt of a few million dollars, it would be infinitely wiser to do so than to allow the present condition to continue. The railroads are capitalized at over nineteen billion dollars (\$19,208,935,081 in 1911), of which certainly more than one-half and in many cases as high as two-thirds represents no investment whatever. And yet the railroads are managed, rates are fixed, expenses of operation manipulated in such a way as to compel the people of the United States to pay over to them enough tribute to give them a high rate of interest on the total capitalization. Furthermore, the capitalization of the railroads is increasing every year. It increases at the rate of about \$650,000,000 per year. And this increasing capitalization means simply that the private ownership of railroads is the means by which the capitalistic classes are increasing their rates of plunder year after year indefinitely. If that rate keeps up for 10 years the results would be appalling. It would mean that by that time the people of the United States would be compelled to pay, through transportation

charges, interest upon a vast sum of money amounting to 25 billions of dollars. By the side of such a calamity, the public debt of a few millions that would be necessary to buy the roads would be only a drop in the bucket.

Is there any other way of escape from this terrible threat of increasing capitalization than through public ownership by whatever means may be reasonably safe and just?

(c) PUBLIC AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES COMPARED.

(Compiled from articles by Frank Parsons in Encyclopedia of Social Reform; article by Charles Edward Russell in Pearson's for March, 1914; speech of David J. Lewis in the House of Representatives, Jan. 16, 1914.)

United States Telegraph Rates the Highest—Average Receipt from a Telegram in Different Countries.

| | Cents. | | Cents. |
|-------------------|--------|---------------------|--------|
| Luxembourg | 9.0 | Great Britain | 17.2 |
| France | 12.0 | Switzerland | 17.2 |
| Japan | 12.3 | Germany | 18.0 |
| Belgium | 14.0 | Italy | 20.0 |
| Holland | 15.0 | Denmark | 22.0 |
| Sweden | 15.7 | United States | 36.0 |
| New Zealand | 15.7 | | |

WHAT WE PAY.

| Messages. | Distance in miles. | Rate for ten words. | Each Additional word. |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| New York to Harrisburg, Pa. | 195 | 30 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Ogdensburg, N. Y. | 375 | 35 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Oswego, N. Y. | 324 | 35 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Columbus, O. | 637 | 40 cents | 3 cents |
| New York to Fall River, Mass. | 183 | 30 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Worcester, Mass. | 193 | 30 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Syracuse, N. Y. | 293 | 35 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Richmond, Va. | 343 | 40 cents | 3 cents |
| New York to Bangor, Me. | 487 | 40 cents | 3 cents |
| New York to Raleigh, N. C. | 500 | 50 cents | 3 cents |
| New York to Charleston, S. C. | 739 | 60 cents | 3 cents |
| New York to Baltimore, Md. | 188 | 30 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Manchester, N. H. | 292 | 35 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Elmira, N. Y. | 265 | 30 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Portland, Me. | 350 | 35 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Lowell, Mass. | 261 | 30 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Augusta, Me. | 413 | 40 cents | 3 cents |
| New York to Wilmington, Del. | 118 | 30 cents | 2 cents |
| New York to Chicago | 912 | 50 cents | 3 cents |
| London to Liverpool | 201 | 1*12 cents | 1 cent |
| London to Edinburgh | 395 | 1*12 cents | 1 cent |
| London to Glasgow | 401 | 1*12 cents | 1 cent |
| Falmouth to Aberdeen | 670 | 1*12 cents | 1 cent |
| Paris to Boulogne | 158 | 2*10 cents | 1 cent |
| Paris to Dijon | 195 | 2*10 cents | 1 cent |
| Paris to Belfort | 275 | 2*10 cents | 1 cent |
| Paris to Bourdeaux | 363 | 2*10 cents | 1 cent |
| Paris to Bayonne | 486 | 2*10 cents | 1 cent |
| Paris to Marseilles | 535 | 2*10 cents | 1 cent |
| Calais to Marseilles | 720 | 2*10 cents | 1 cent |
| Berlin to Hamburg | 178 | 12 cents | 1 cent |
| Berlin to Nuremberg | 292 | 12 cents | 1 cent |
| Hamburg to Cologne | 279 | 12 cents | 1 cent |
| Berlin to Frankfort | 354 | 12 cents | 1 cent |
| Berlin to Cologne | 279 | 12 cents | 1 cent |
| Berlin to Munich | 456 | 12 cents | 1 cent |
| Schuls to Geneva | 156 | 3*10 cents | ½ cent |
| Auckland to Bluff | 900 | 12 cents | 1 cent |

1*For twelve words.

2*Half a franc; real value 9 and 6-10 cents.

3*The Swiss rate is 5 cents for each telegram and ½ cent a word.

In the United States address and signature are sent free; in Europe they are charged for. But this difference is largely counterbalanced by the European custom of code addresses.

Inefficient Service.

What do we get for the extra money we expend for this service? On every one of the 175,000,000 telegrams we send yearly we pay from twice to five times as much as we should

pay for the like convenience in Europe, Asia, Africa or Australasia. Why is this? We spend every year more than \$50,000,000 for telegraph messages. If we had in this country such rates as prevail in every other country we should have the same service for less than \$20,000,000.

What do we get for the extra \$30,000,000 or \$35,000,000?

Not any greater efficiency or public convenience, certainly. There is a superstition that we do, but it is wholly of interested origin; the beneficiaries of the present arrangement and the influences they control foster it diligently, and it goes to pieces at the first examination of facts. Efficiency is the test, you know. Then kindly look at this. Although we pay such monstrous prices for it we do not get an efficient telegraph service; it does not serve the people well, but very ill.

In New Zealand, with a rate of 12 cents for twelve words, the average annual telegraph business is 809 telegrams for each 100 of population. In the United States, where the rate is from 25 cents to \$1 for ten words, the annual average is 110 telegrams for each 100 of population.

At present we have in the United States about one-tenth of the telegraph facilities that we ought to have. That is because the telegraph companies, always under the burden of paying dividends on watered stock and providing for many melons, cannot afford to extend their lines. Thus we have in the whole United States, with 100,000,000 population, only 6,828 real telegraph offices. This will astonish you, very likely, but it is the fact. The remaining 22,282 of which the telegraph companies boast, are railroad station houses, or signal towers, devoted to railroad business and handling communications, if at all, with great difficulty and delay.

In France and in Luxembourg there are more telegraph offices than post offices. In Belgium and Germany every post office is a telegraph office. In the other countries of the world, except ours, you can telegraph from practically every post office. In the United States we have one telegraph office to every 7.7 post offices.

The private telegraph companies of the United States, gouging their employees for the sake of dividends, compelling them to work long hours, taking of their necessities every mean advantage, get from each operator an annual average of 3,487 telegrams transmitted. The government of New Zealand, treating its employees with humane consideration, providing for them an eight-hour day, a six-day week, a weekly half-holiday, an old age pension and an insurance against accidents, gets from each operator an annual average of 3,713 telegrams transmitted.

Mr. Lewis found 27 different acts or processes in the handling of each telegram by a private company, 16 of them being wholly superfluous from any point of view of the public concern, and put in to make sure that the company did not overlook a cent.

Mr. Lewis also found in the accounting department of the telegraph companies 47 different acts or processes that had been found unnecessary under government ownership. Who do you think pays for the 47?

Enormous Profits.

The acknowledged net profits of the Western Union Telegraph Company in 1912 were \$6,023,971. The Postal Telegraph Company is owned by a holding concern called the Mackay Companies. Its profits therefore are neatly concealed from observation, but the Mackay Companies in 1912 declared dividends amounting to \$4,128,491, although it is admitted that the profits were larger. Putting these two sums together, we have

\$11,052,462 as one year's profits from the telegraph business in the United States.

Telephone Rates Highest in the United States.

ANNUAL CHARGE FOR TELEPHONE (FLAT RATE).

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---------|--------------------------|--------|
| The Hague, Holland..... | \$26.00 | New Haven, Conn..... | 84.00 |
| Stockholm, Sweden | 24.44 | Oakland, Cal | 84.00 |
| Copenhagen, Denmark ... | 32.00 | Philadelphia, Pa..... | 90.00 |
| Tokyo, Japan | 34.00 | Washington, D. C..... | 168.00 |
| Auckland, N. Z..... | 34.09 | Cincinnati, O. | 100.00 |
| Amsterdam, Holland | 36.00 | Baltimore, Md. | 174.00 |
| Christiania, Norway..... | 21.44 | Denver, Col. | 138.00 |
| Rotterdam, Holland | 36.00 | Boston, Mass. | 125.00 |
| Buda-Pesth, Hungary ... | 57.90 | San Francisco, Cal. | 180.00 |
| Paris, France | 77.20 | New York City | 228.00 |
| Berlin, Germany | 43.20 | Seattle, Wash. | 90.00 |

The telephones in all these countries abroad are owned by the government and operated as part of the post office system for the Common Good. That is the reason the rates are so cheap. The telephones in our country are owned by the private interests and operated for Private Greed. This is true reason the rates are so dear.

Inefficiency.

In Switerland a long-distance telephone conversation over sixty-two miles of line costs 10 cents; in New York a similar conversation from Park Row, Manhattan, to Court Street, Brooklyn, a mile and a half, costs 10 cents, and to telephone sixty-two miles costs half a dollar.

In New Zealand you can telephone 620 miles for 60 cents. In the United States you pay 25 cents to telephone 12 miles.

The employees of the government-owned telephone service of Norway handle each an average of 146,854 calls a year; the employees of the melon-owned telephone service of the United States handle each an average of 58,134 calls a year.

The following table shows the rates charged by the Bell Telephone Company when it had to meet competition and after it had either driven out or had absorbed its competitor:

| City. | Bell rate before com- petition began. | Bell rate while com- petition was on. | Bell rate when com- petition ended. |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|
| Richmond, Va. | 72 | \$12 | \$72 |
| York, Pa. | 72 | 15 | 48 |
| San Jose, Cal. | 60 | 30 | 60 |
| Dubuque, Iowa | 48 | 24 | 48 |
| Winona, Minn. | 48 | 12 | 48 |
| Savannah, Ga. | 36 | 18 | 36 |
| Mobile, Ala. | 64 | 18 | 48 |
| Lynchburg, Va. | 65 | 12 | 48 |
| Roanoke, Va. | 30 | 30 | 48 |
| Norfolk, Va. | 40 | 40 | 60 |
| Oswego, N. Y. | 45 | 30 | 36 |
| Kenosha, Wis. | 30 | 30 | 42 |
| Iowa City, Iowa | 42 | 24 | 36 |
| Tampa, Fla. | 30 | 30 | 42 |
| Average | \$49 | \$23 | \$49 |

Government Ownership of Electrical Means of Communication.

(From Report to the Postmaster General by a Special Committee of the Post Office Department.)

The United States alone of the leading nations has left to private enterprises the ownership and operation of the telegraph and telephone facilities.

In 1843 this government aided in the construtcion and assumed as a part of its postal duties the operation of the first electric telegraph. But on March 4, 1847, because of the unwillingness of Congress to authorize any extension of the service then in operation and because of deficit in the postal finances the control of this facility was surrendered to private hands.

Capitalization of Telegraph Companies.

According to the best available data, the telegraph plant of this country in 1912 included about 247,000 miles of pole line

carrying about 1,800,000 miles of wire. The capitalization of the land wires, segregated, is estimated at \$150,000,000; including the ocean wires and submarine cables, the capitalization probably would amount to \$220,000,000. So far as the public generally is concerned, the entire telegraph service is owned and operated by two companies, their lines practically duplicating each other in most sections of the country.

Telegraph facilities have not been extended to the small towns and villages along with the government postal facilities, nor has the cost of the service been reduced in the inverse proportion that would seem to be warranted by the increasing volume of business transacted. Neither has the volume of business in this country, in proportion to the population, been as great as in countries where this facility is owned and operated governmentally. This fact unquestionably is attributable, to prohibitive rates and the failure of the companies to extend the service to territory which promises small profits.

An official report of the postmaster general of Great Britain in 1911 shows that between 1869 (the year the British government took possession of the telegraph) and 1900 the number of messages handled in that country increased thirteenfold, while the population increased but 30 per cent. During the same period the population of the United States increased 100 per cent, and yet the number of telegraph messages handled increased but eightfold.

In 1912 the number of messages handled in this country was barely in excess of one per capita. In New Zealand, where the telegraphs are owned and operated by the government, the number was more than eight per capita.

Statistics show that although the United States outranks all other countries in postal transactions per capita, in respect to telegraphs it is outranked by eight other countries.

All of the important countries, the United States, Canada and Mexico excepted, have bound themselves by an international agreement to observe uniform regulations in the administration of their telegraph service. These regulations, with a view to affording the people the most efficient service at the lowest price, require the use of the latest and best improvements in the telegraphic art, and prescribe the manner and method of receiving, transmitting and delivering telegrams and the rate of toll to be collected. The privately owned telegraph companies of the United States, Canada and Mexico, to the detriment of the people, have remained outsiders to these international rules and regulations.

Effect of Telephone on Telegraph Service.

The postmaster general of Great Britain reported in June, 1911, that in 1907 the telegraph traffic of that country commenced to show a diminution, owing to the growing use of the telephone. The like effect in the United States is shown by statistics. The statement below shows the average daily telephone connections of the associated Bell companies between the years 1900 and 1910 and the annual number of messages transmitted by the Western Union Telegraph Company during the same period.

| | Average daily connections of the associated Bell telephone companies. | Number of messages transmitted annually by the Western Union Telegraph Company. |
|-----------|---|---|
| 1900..... | 5,817,514 | 63,167,783 |
| 1905..... | 13,912,551 | 67,477,320 |
| 1906..... | 16,940,000 | 71,847,082 |
| 1907..... | 18,624,000 | 74,804,551 |
| 1908..... | 18,962,397 | 62,371,287 |
| 1909..... | 20,342,435 | 68,053,439 |
| 1910..... | 22,294,010 | 75,135,405 |

It will thus be seen that during the decade to which the foregoing figures relate, while the population of our country

was increasing approximately 18 per cent (actually 17.8 per cent) the average daily telephone connections increased 287 per cent and the number of telegraph messages only 18 per cent. The use of the telephone in all walks of life is steadily increasing, while the use of the telegraph is relatively stationary and therefore decreasing.

The telegraph companies have already lost for the most part the short distance business owing to the development of the toll telephone service, and they will probably lose much of the long distance business when the toll rates become adjusted on a cost basis. Statistics of the telegraph and telephone traffic in foreign countries show that the number of long distance telephone communications greatly exceeds the number of telegrams. In Germany, for example, the ratio is 6 to 1. Certainly the general trend in the use of wire communications favors the telephone at the expense of the telegraph.

This was undoubtedly foreseen by the telegraph companies some years ago, for it is understood that before the acquisition of the Western Union Company by the American Telegraph and Telephone Company the former contemplated improvements in its system whereby the telephone would be added to the telegraph service, and this attitude on the part of the Western Union Company was an underlying reason why its property was acquired by the Bell interests.

On many of the long distance telephone lines owned by the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, the telegraph feature has been superimposed and the same wires are today carrying both telegraph and telephone messages simultaneously.

Telegraph Systems Inadequate for Postal Needs.

The acquisition of the telegraph service of the country would necessitate taking over the duplicate plants of the two companies controlling the service with their duplicate expenses of maintenance. Unquestionably one could be made to serve the same territory. Furthermore, and of great importance, is the fact that even the entire plants of the two companies would be inadequate for the purpose of the government, because their facilities have been extended only to profitable territory. Should the government resume control and operate this service it would be with the object of extending the facilities in the interests of the people, and hence regardless of profit.

Assuming that the poles of the present telegraph system would sustain the increased number of wires necessary to superimpose the telephone feature, the expense of constructing, equipping throughout with copper wire, loading the same and providing the extra circuits required, could not be estimated at less than \$75,000,000. Add this to the estimated value of the telegraphic land lines (\$150,000,000), and it will be seen that the cost would be equal to \$225,000,000, or \$25,000,000 in excess of the estimated value of the interurban and long distance telephone network. The expense of equipping the latter system for telegraphy would involve only the cost of the instruments and would therefore be negligible.

In view of the foregoing, it is the opinion of your committee that it would be unwise from a commercial standpoint for the government to acquire the telegraph systems of the country.

There is a radical difference between the policies of a public and a private monopoly, both as regards the extension of service and the fixing of rates. In the extension of service the determining factor with the government is the needs of the people; with the private monopoly the consideration of profit. The effect of the application of these two policies to similar public utilities is shown by comparison between the present universal extension of the mail facilities and the limited exten-

sion of the telegraph and telephone facilities. The private monopoly has no incentive to extend its facilities to unprofitable territory, but the government must serve all the people. This universal service is accomplished by an equalization of rates. In fixing rates, the policy of this government is to superimpose no charge for taxation, but simply to see to it that the service as a whole is self-supporting. The private monopoly, on the other hand, must make a profit, and in providing for this tends to increase its rates to the highest point that will not, by so greatly restricting the volume of business, impair the aggregate profit.

The postal service maintains about 64,000 offices and stations and employs about 290,000 persons. The telephone service maintains about 50,000 offices and employs about 200,000. Were these two services merged and operated under government control it would be feasible to transfer a large number of telephone offices to post office buildings, and thus greatly reduce the aggregate expense for quarters. Furthermore, as the majority of the telephone employes are operators who require no special technical training, the merging of the two forces would result in a material reduction in the total number of employes required. Furthermore, it is understood that the automatic and semi-automatic equipment is rapidly approaching perfection, and should this be accomplished the adoption of such equipment would bring about a still further reduction in force.

Your committee has no doubt that the institutional efficiency of the telegraph and telephone services in this country would be increased by government ownership. The statistics in the appendixes hereto show that in the United States compared with other countries the number of telephone calls per employe is relatively low, while the number of mail pieces per employe is relatively high.

Cost and Payment.

According to the best available data, the capitalization of the long distance and toll lines represents approximately \$200,000,000 and the capitalization of the entire commercial network (exchange service, toll and long distance lines) approximately \$900,000,000. The cost to the government would be less than the appraised value, since it would be undesirable for the government to purchase the real estate holdings of the telephone companies, such as exchange and office buildings. Sufficient space in these buildings for the exchanges could be leased until accommodations could be provided in the post offices and stations.

Recommendations.

Your committee has reached the conclusion that the only way to afford to the people the complete and modern postal facilities that the Constitution makes it the duty of the government to provide is to put into effect the following recommendations:

1. That Congress declare a government monopoly over all telegraph and telephone and radio communication and such other means for the transmission of intelligence as may hereafter develop.

2. That Congress acquire by purchase at this time at appraised value the commercial telephone network, except the farmer lines.

3. That Congress authorize the postmaster general to issue in his discretion and under such regulations as he may prescribe, revocable licenses for the operation, by private individuals, associations, companies and corporations, of the telegraph service and such parts of the telephone service as may not be acquired by the government.

(d) UNCLE SAM IN PANAMA.

Meat Prices on the Isthmus.

(From the National Handbook No. 2, page 11.)

Commodities are sold by the United States government in the Canal Zone without profit. They are purchased in the United States, carried 2,000 miles, kept, when necessary, in cold storage, and delivered by Uncle Sam to the purchaser's premises. Of course profits enter into cost—that is, the profits of grower, manufacturer, money lender, commission man, transportation company, etc. But the government itself sells to the consumer at net cost. Just compare the following prices of beef, published last November in the Canal Record, with current prices in cities of the United States, and then consider what prices might be with every form of profit and graft eliminated:

| | |
|---|-----|
| Beef—Suet, per pound | 2 |
| Soup, per pound | 5 |
| Stew, per pound | 8 |
| Plate, per pound | 9 |
| Corned, No. 1, per pound..... | 14 |
| Corned, No. 2, per pound..... | 12 |
| Chuck roast (3 pounds and over), per pound | 12 |
| Pot roast, per pound..... | 15 |
| Rib roast, second cut (not under 3½ pounds), per pound..... | 16 |
| Rib roast, first cut (not under 3 pounds), per pound..... | 18 |
| Sirloin roast, per pound..... | 19 |
| Rump roast, per pound..... | 19 |
| Porterhouse roast, per pound..... | 20 |
| Steak, chuck, per pound..... | 12½ |
| Round, per pound | 13 |
| Rib per pound | 18 |
| Sirloin, per pound..... | 19 |
| Porterhouse (not less than 1½ pounds), per pound..... | 19 |
| | 20 |

Canal Zone Laundry.

(From the National Handbook No. 2, page 12.)

In parallel columns below are quoted comparative prices of laundry work taken from the laundry lists of two laundries. One is the Ancon Hospital Laundry, located at Ancon, Canal Zone, and operated by the Isthmian government for the benefit of canal employes. The other is a typical laundry list of one of the best known laundries in Washington, D. C. One is run by Uncle Sam for service; the other is managed by private business for profit. Look over the list:

MEN'S ARTICLES.

| | Washington, D. C. cents. | Canal Zone, cents. |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Collars | 2½ | 1½ |
| Cuffs, pair | 5 | 3 |
| Shirts, plain | 10 | 8 |
| Shirts, dress | 15 | 10 |
| Handkerchiefs | 3 | 1½ |
| Socks, pair | 5 | 3 |
| Undershirts | 8 | 5 |
| Drawers | 8 | 5 |
| Union suits | 16 | 8 |
| Nightshirts | 10 | 5 |
| Vests | 25 | 10 |
| Coats | 10 up | 10 |
| Pajamas | 20 up | 10 |
| Overalls | 15 | 16 |
| Jumpers | 10 | 8 |

WOMEN'S ARTICLES.

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------|-----------|
| Collars | 3 up | 1½ |
| Waists, white | 20 up | 10 |
| Handkerchiefs | 3 | 1½ |
| Stockings, pair | 5 | 3 |
| Undershirts | 8 | 5 |
| Drawers | 10 | 8 |
| Combinations | 16 up | 12 |
| Chemise | 10 up | 8 and 12 |
| Corset covers | 10 up | 8 and 12 |
| Nightdresses | 15 up | 10 and 12 |
| Aprons | 5 up | 5 |
| Underskirts | 15 up | 12 |

(e) IS UNCLE SAM BECOMING A SOCIALIST?

(By John C. Kennedy.)

The greatest engineering feat ever undertaken on the American continent is now being successfully completed on the Isthmus of Panama. The United States has accomplished what the great French syndicate and other private corporations absolutely failed to do—it has built the Panama Canal.

Few of us realize that in carrying out this great undertaking Uncle Sam found it necessary to follow many of the methods that have long been advocated by the Socialist party. Private corporations looking only for profits undertook to build the canal and failed. Therefore, instead of turning the job over to another private corporation, Uncle Sam decided to dig and own and operate the canal himself.

No contracts were given to capitalists whereby they could make fat profits. Government engineers prepared the plans, hired the employes and directed the work from the very beginning. This is a principle for which Socialists have been contending everywhere. The contract system is a source of inefficiency and graft, and all public work should be done directly by the government.

Scientific Sanitation.

In order to build the canal Uncle Sam found it necessary to control living conditions in the Canal Zone. The sanitary control of the district was not left to private individuals and doctors. An expert was put in charge of the whole matter and he practically eliminated malaria, yellow fever and other tropical diseases. Swamps were drained; the breeding places of mosquitoes were destroyed; adequate provision was made for handling all the garbage and waste matter; paved roads were built, and in every other way conditions were made so sanitary that the death rate has been lower than in many parts of the United States.

Homes for the Workers.

Thirty-five thousand employes were required to build the canal and a large number of new buildings were needed to furnish accommodations for them. Uncle Sam was determined that there should be no hovels and slums in the Canal Zone. If the erection of houses had been left to real estate speculators, doubtless the workers would have been crowded together in shacks and tenements just as they are in the Chicago Stock Yards district. Uncle Sam avoided all these evils by erecting houses for the workers which were spacious, well ventilated and sanitary in every particular.

Reduced the Cost of Living.

The government soon discovered that it would never do to leave the furnishing of supplies in the hands of private companies. The goods were of inferior quality and the prices were exorbitant. Therefore Uncle Sam established a series of twenty-two stores along the isthmus, where the workers can buy anything they want. The government buys most of its meats in Chicago and lays down the strictest specifications, so it gets the very best quality. Over four million pounds of fresh beef have been sold each year by the government stores on the isthmus, besides 250,000 pounds of mutton, 400,000 chickens and a large quantity of other meats. The sales included over nine million dozen eggs per year and enormous quantities of fruits, vegetables and baked goods.

In order to supply the best quality of bread, the government built a bakery of its own which has been furnishing 25,000

loaves of bread per day. It also owns and operates an ice plant which furnishes ice to the workers at a reasonable cost. The government runs an ice cream factory, which has been doing a business of over \$80,000 per year. It has been running a laundry which washes four million pieces per year.

In short, Uncle Sam has been furnishing all the necessities of life to the workers in the Canal Zone practically at cost. Moreover, everything supplied has been inspected by experts, so the quality of the goods has always been assured. A price list has been published each week, so there could be no juggling of prices.

No Loss to the Government.

It must be remembered that Uncle Sam has been conducting all of these enterprises on the isthmus simply because he found that only in this way could the best living conditions and the highest efficiency be obtained. These enterprises have in no sense been philanthropic measures. The government has not lost a single cent—in fact, it has made a small profit. Yet the cost of living on the Isthmus of Panama—the cost of Chicago meats, of California fruits and of other goods imported from the United States, has been far lower than we have been paying right here where the goods are produced.

Almost Socialism.

The government on the isthmus has not been exactly Socialism, but many of the Socialist principles have been successfully applied. It would take only a few minor changes to make the government entirely Socialistic. The private corporation has been eliminated and business has been run to promote the public good instead of for private profit. If the officers of the district who are managing affairs were elected by the workers, if more democracy prevailed in the administration of the government, practically everything would be on a Socialist basis.

Why Not Here?

If the principles of Socialism work so successfully on the Isthmus of Panama, why wouldn't they work here? The Republicans, Democrats, Progressives and nonpartisans have done a lot of talking about reducing the high cost of living, but they do nothing that will actually reduce the high cost of living. If these parties really wanted to reduce the high cost of living, they would introduce the same methods of doing business in the United States that are now working successfully in Panama. The extortional profits of the capitalists would then be eliminated. We would get the best quality of goods at the cost of production and the high cost of living would be settled once for all.

There is only one party in the United States which stands for this solution of the problem. There is only one party which stands for social ownership and operation of industry and for the workers getting the full product of their toil. All other parties dodge this issue and cry out "unconstitutional" if we attempt to do for the people—or, rather, if the people attempt to do for themselves—what is already being done on the Isthmus of Panama. But we are making progress. Socialist agitation has compelled the old parties to introduce a parcel post system and to provide for government railroads in Alaska. Uncle Sam will some day be a thorough Socialist and justice and industrial democracy will prevail throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

2. The Labor Forces Making for Socialism.

(a) REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE PARTY.

(Adopted by Socialist National Convention, 1912.)

Political organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation. The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement—the Socialist party and the labor unions.

The labor movement of the United States has of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades and industries which were before unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and increased its efficiency by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and industrial unions. Many unions have opened their meetings and journals to the discussion of vital social and political problems of the working class, and have repudiated the demoralizing politics represented by the National Civic Federation. The organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened and militant class-consciousness.

The reality of this progress is attested by the increasing virulence with which the organized capitalists wage their war against the union. This improved economic organization is not a matter of abstract theory, but grows out of the experience of the wage workers in the daily class struggle. Only those actually engaged in the struggle in the various trades and industries can solve the problems of form of organization.

The Socialist party therefore reaffirms the position it has always taken with regard to the movement of organized labor:

1. That the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

2. That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor, if they remain neglected. The Socialist party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations who have not already done so to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries abolishing all onerous conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong class consciousness and closely united organizations on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

3. That it is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition.

4. That it is the duty of the members of the Socialist party who are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations.

(b) LABOR UNION MEMBERSHIP OF THE WORLD.

| Country. | Membership. | | Membership. |
|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Argentina | 50,000 | Holland | 153,689 |
| Australia | 360,000 | Hungary | 95,180 |
| Austria | 496,263 | Italy | 709,948 |
| Belgium | 92,735 | New Zealand | 60,000 |
| Bohemia | 90,000 | Norway | 53,830 |
| Bosnia | 5,587 | Russia | 550,000 |
| Bulgaria | 18,753 | Servia | 7,418 |
| Canada | 133,132 | Spain | 150,000 |
| Denmark | 128,224 | Sweden | 220,000 |
| Finland | 19,640 | Switzerland | 93,797 |
| France | 1,029,238 | United States | 2,054,526 |
| Germany | 3,061,002 | | |
| Great Britain | 3,010,346 | Total | 12,643,308 |

3. The Co-operatives and Mutuals.**(a) STATISTICS OF DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETIES.**

(From Year Book of International Co-operation, page 138.)

| | No. of Societies furnishing returns. | No. of Members. | Yearly Turnover. | Working Capital. |
|--------------------|---|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| A—Europe. | | | | |
| Austria | 981 | 410,351 | \$ 26,000,000 | \$ 2,600,000 |
| Belgium | 379 | 250,106 | 11,540,000 | ..... |
| Bulgaria ..... | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Denmark | 800 | 113,085 | 11,175,750 | ..... |
| Finland | 512 | 102,000 | 13,750,000 | ..... |
| France | 2,594 | 799,000 | 52,500,000 | ..... |
| Germany | 1,449 | 1,473,740 | 103,176,250 | 11,500,000 |
| Hungary | 992 | 156,563 | 7,750,000 | ..... |
| Italy | 1,764 | 346,000 | ..... | 4,500,000 |
| Netherlands | ... | 65,000 | 4,592,500 | ..... |
| Norway | 51 | 15,541 | 1,464,000 | ..... |
| Roumania ..... | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Russia ..... | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Servia ..... | ... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Spain | 182 | 28,944 | ..... | ..... |
| Sweden | 376 | 66,582 | 6,294,250 | 442,500 |
| Switzerland | 328 | 212,322 | 20,043,750 | 1,900,000 |
| United Kingdom .. | 1,428 | 2,542,532 | 359,307,000 | 168,912,500 |
| B—Asia. | | | | |
| Japan | 308 | 24,000 | ..... | ..... |
| C—America. | | | | |
| United States | 163 | 36,286 | 11,542,790 | 4,260,000 |
| Total | 12,307 | 6,642,052 | \$629,136,290 | \$194,115,000 |

(b) THE DEVELOPMENT OF WHOLESALE CO-OPERATION FROM 1901 TO 1910.

(From Year Book of International Co-operation, pages 139 and 151.)

At the beginning of the twentieth century there were in existence in the various countries of Europe ten organizations, the aim of which was the joint purchase of goods on behalf of the co-operative distributive societies. The oldest of these organizations was the Co-operative Wholesale Society in Manchester, which was established in 1863 and which began operations in the spring of the following year. Four years after the foundation of the Manchester society, the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society was formed in Glasgow on similar lines.

For more than a decade these societies were the only organizations of their kind. The distributive movement on the continent was not yet sufficiently developed to warrant the foundation of such institutions. During the sixties and seventies efforts were made in Denmark, Germany and Switzerland to establish wholesale organizations; these efforts, however, did not meet with success.

Denmark was the first to establish a wholesale society, this event taking place in 1884; in 1888 a second Danish society was formed. These two societies were amalgamated in 1896 under their present title, Faellesforeningen for Danmarks Brugsforeningers.

Wholesale societies were thereupon established as follows: In Switzerland, 1886; Holland, 1889; Germany, 1893; Russia

and Hungary, 1898; Belgium, 1899; France, 1901; Sweden, 1904; Finland, 1904; Austria, 1905; Norway, 1906; Italy, 1910.

Bulgaria, Portugal, Roumania, Servia and Spain have no wholesale societies.

In California there is a small co-operative wholesale society which is, however, as yet only in its infancy.

It is interesting to learn the number of consumers connected in 1910 with the wholesale societies in all those countries where these organizations exist. In the absence of accurate returns in several countries, we must give estimated figures in this connection; the figures in the following table will not be very far from the truth:

| | Societies. | Members. |
|--------------------|--------------|------------------|
| England | 1,160 | 2,000,000 |
| Scotland | 276 | 420,000 |
| Germany | 675 | 1,000,000 |
| Denmark | 1,259 | 177,000 |
| Switzerland | 490 | 225,000 |
| Hungary | 992 | 155,000 |
| Netherlands | 88 | 50,000 |
| Finland | 189 | 120,000 |
| Russia | 393 | 200,000 |
| France | 700 | 300,000 |
| Belgium | 108 | 148,000 |
| Austria | 256 | 250,000 |
| Sweden | 431 | 70,000 |
| Norway | 66 | 18,000 |
| Total | 7,033 | 5,143,000 |

We may safely assert that co-operative wholesale purchase was carried on in 1910 by national organizations for this purpose on behalf of at least 5,000,000 consumers. Great Britain alone was responsible for nearly half this number, the other half being continental co-operators.

The total trade done by all the wholesales, which amounted in 1900 to \$125,000,000, in 1910 reached over \$225,000,000, i. e., it was nearly doubled during the decade. In 1911 the total exceeded \$250,000,000.

The English C. W. S. contributed the largest share to the magnificent total; this society alone has to record since 1900 an increase in the amount of trade done of nearly \$52,500,000 (65 per cent). In single years its increase has varied between 1.87 per cent (1908) and 8.87 per cent (1901); this is an average of about 5 per cent each year. These figures disclose a considerable increase in the commercial and productive activity of the C. W. S., with regard to which it is here impossible to give even superficial particulars. The C. W. S. has made more progress in the period of 1901-1910 than in that from 1891 to 1900; the increase in trade done for the latter period was \$43,000,000 and for the former, as we have already mentioned, \$52,500,000. Should this organization make equal progress during the second decade of the twentieth century, which we have every reason to expect, the turnover in 1920 will be about \$200,000,000. There is an increase of \$6,375,000, or 4.83 per cent, to record for 1911.

(c) THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From Year Book of International Co-operation, page 132.)

The co-operative movement in the United States is still extraordinarily weak and for many years has not been able to obtain a firm foothold. During the last few years, however, the outlook has seemed brighter; it has been very very difficult to obtain information as to the present development of co-operation in North America. The unions at present existing do not compile statistics and the returns with regard to co-operation published by the statistical offices are very incomplete.

The small table, which we are able to give, has been taken from a report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics at Wisconsin.

Statistics of Distributive Societies in the United States of America, 1905.

| | | No. of Societies furnishing returns. | |
|---------------------------|-----|--|------------|
| Number of societies | 163 | | 343 |
| Number of members | 165 | | 36,286 |
| Share capital | 130 | \$ | 4,260,345 |
| Turnover | 118 | \$ | 11,542,790 |
| Expenses | 160 | \$ | 1,229,130 |
| No. of employes | | | 1,000 |

4. The Socialist Party and Its Program.

[For statistics on the vote of the party in the United States and the world, see Part I, Section 3.]

(a) SOCIALIST OFFICIALS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1913.

A Partial List.

Note.—The following list does not include those whose term of office expired before May, 1913. We have not included any officials whose elections we have not been able to fully verify. Newspaper reports are often found erroneous, and have not been accepted as sufficient basis for including elections so reported. The list is certainly incomplete, but, in so far as given, is authoritative.

LEGISLATORS—Twenty-one Members in Nine States.

STATE SENATORS—

Kansas *Fred W. Stanton, Mulberry.
Nevada M. J. Scanlan.
Wisconsin Gabriel Zophy, West Allis, Milwaukee County.

STATE REPRESENTATIVES—

California C. W. Kingsley, Los Angeles.
Illinois †H. W. Harris, C. M. Madsen, Joseph M. Mason, Seymour Stedman, all of Chicago.
Kansas Everett Miller, Scammon; Benjamin F. Wilson, Girard.
Massachusetts ... Charles H. Morrill, Haverhill.
Minnesota Nels S. Hillman, Two Harbors.
Montana Charles H. Connor, Eureka.
Nevada I. F. Davis, Tonopah.
Washington W. H. Kingery, Shelton.
Wisconsin Martin Gorecki, E. H. Kiefer, Carl Minkley, William L. Smith, J. H. Vint, E. H. Zinn, all of Milwaukee.

*Removed by state Senate after being duly elected and after having been so declared by the courts.

†Lost the seat on a recount after having served most of the term.

MAYORS—Thirty-four Cities.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Brainerd, Minn.... R. A. Henning. | Mammoth, Utah.. N. J. Hansen |
| Buena Vista, Colo. Homer J. Brown | Manitowoc, Wis.. Henry Stolze, Jr |
| Burlington, Wash. Neil Monroe | Martins Fry, O... Newton Wycoff |
| Butte, Mont..... Lewis J. Duncan | Mineral C'y, O... L. S. McKinney |
| Crookston, Minn.. H. L. Larson | Min'l Ridge, O... Ed. E. Robinson |
| Eagle Bend, Minn. John A. Miller | Mt. Vernon, O... A. A. Perrine |
| Eureka, Utah.... A. S. Mitchell | Murray C'y, Utah. Geo. A. Huscher |
| Fostoria, Ohio.... W. M. Ralston | New Castle, Pa.... Walter V. Tyle |
| Grand Jet., Colo.. Thos. M. Todd | Rockaway, N. J.. W. A. Matthews |
| Granite City, Ill.. M. E. Kirkpatrick | Rugby, N. D..... E. S. Dale |
| Gulfport, Fla.... E. E. Wintersgill | Schenect'y, N. Y.. Geo. R. Lunn |
| Haledon, N. J.... Wm. Brueckmann | Sisseton, S. D... John C. Knapp |
| Hartford, Ark.... Pete Stewart | Star City, W. Va.. Wm. Shay |
| Hendricks, W. Va. R. S. Dayton | St. Mary's, O..... Scott Wilkins |
| Hillyard, Wash... Jared Herdlich | Talent, O..... Wm. H. Breese |
| Lafayette, Colo... S. R. Wood | Toronto, O..... Robt. J. Murray |
| Liberal, Mo..... M. M. Jones | Two Harbors, Wm. Towl |
| | Minn. A. A. Perrine |

ALDERMEN—Two Hundred and Thirty (including 4 commission-ers), in 98 cities, 22 states:

Number of cities having one Socialist alderman, 45.

Number of cities having two Socialist alderman, 26.

Number of cities having three Socialist aldermen, 10.

Number of cities having four or more Socialist aldermen, 17;

Brainerd, Minn., 4; Butte, Mont., 8; Collinsville, Okla., 4; Eureka, Utah, 4; Gulfport, Fla., 4; Grant's Pass., Ore., 4; Hamilton, Ohio, 6; Hendricks, W. Va., 4; Martin's Ferry, Ohio, 7; Milwaukee, Wis., 11; New Castle, Pa., 9; Reading, Pa., 4; Schenectady, N. Y., 8; St. Mary's, Ohio, 8; Sunbury, Pa., 6; Thief River Falls, Minn., 5; Two Harbors, Minn., 6.

OTHER MUNICIPAL OFFICES—One Hundred and Six, as follows:

Attorneys, 2; treasurers, 14; comptroller, 1; auditors, 8; trustees, 19; assessors, 28; supervisors, 6; minor offices, 28.

COUNTY OFFICES—One Hundred and Fifty, as follows:

Justices of peace, 55; constables, 42; treasurers, 5; attorney, 1; state's attorney, 1; sheriffs, 3; minor offices, 43.

SCHOOL OFFICES—One Hundred and Twenty-six, as follows:

Trustees, 54; directors, 58; superintendents, 2; members of boards of education, 7; others, 5.

Total number of Socialists holding office in America at this date—May, 1913—officially reported to the Information Department, 667.

Socialists Entitled to Twenty-six Members of Congress.

W. J. Ghent has submitted the follownig figures, showing how the United States Congress would be made up if the members were elected by proportional representation.

| Party. | Vote. | Representation. | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------|
| | | Earned. | Actual. |
| Democrats | 6,297,150 | 182 | 290 |
| Progressives | 4,125,886 | 119 | 16 |
| Republicans | 3,485,039 | 101 | 127 |
| Socialists | 901,062 | 26 | 0 |
| Prohibition | 209,500 | 6 | 0 |
| Socialist-Labor | 30,344 | 1 | 0 |
| Scattered | 3,526 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 15,052,507 | 435 | 433 |

1 Independent, 1 vacancy in April, 1913.

(b) SOCIALIST MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

The following outlined program for the work of the Socialist party in the realm of municipal activities is the work of a committee appointed by the National Party Convention at Indianapolis, May 12-18, 1912, and was adopted by the convention. Similar committees and national conventions had worked along similar lines before and this report may be accepted as the lines quite generally agreed upon by the Socialist party.

The committee was this time made permanent and instructed to continue the study of these problems and be prepared to submit further suggestions and recommendations at the next national convention.

Especial mention should also be made of the proposal to have the Party's National Executive Committee establish a permanent Bureau of Information for the collection of material necessary for the work of the Socialists elected to legislative bodies, both municipal and state, and national. The bureau is to be put in charge of a capable secretary with special training and fitness for this particular line of work.

PREAMBLE.

"Socialism cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist Party is a minority party. Nor can it be inaugurated in any single city. Furthermore, so long as national and state legislatures and particularly the courts are in control of the capitalist class, a municipal administration, even though absolutely controlled by Socialists, will be hampered, crippled and restricted in every way possible.

"We maintain that the evils of the present system will be removed only when the working class wholly abolish private ownership in the social means of production, collectively assume the management of the industries and operate them for use and not for profit, for the benefit of all and not for the enrichment of a privileged class. In this the Socialist Party stands alone in the political field.

"But the Socialist Party also believes that the evils of the modern system may be materially relieved and their final disappearance may be hastened by the introduction of social, political and economic measures which have the effect of bettering the lives, strengthening the position of the workers and curbing the power and domination of the capitalists.

"The Socialist Party therefore supports the struggles of the working class against the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist class, and is vitally concerned in the efficiency of the

parliamentary and administrative means for the fighting of the class struggle."

Furthermore, it should be distinctly understood that the following suggested municipal and state program is not put forth as mandatory or binding upon the state or local organizations. It is offered as suggestive data to assist those localities that may desire to use it, and as a basis for the activities of Socialist members of state legislatures and local administrations.

I.

LABOR MEASURES.

- (1) Eight hour day, trade union wages and conditions in all public employment and on all contract work done for the city.
- (2) Old age pension, accident insurance and sick benefits to be provided for all public employes.
- (3) Special laws for the protection of both men, women and children, in mercantile, domestic and industrial pursuits.
- (4) Abolition of child labor.
- (5) Police not to be used to break strikes.
- (6) Rigid inspection of factories by local authorities for the improvement of sanitary conditions, lighting, ventilating, heating and the like. Safety appliances required in all cases to protect the worker against dangerous machinery.
- (7) Free employment bureaus to be established in the cities to work in co-operation with state bureaus. Abolition of contract system and direct employment by the city on all public work.
- (8) Free legal advice.
- (9) The provision of work for the unemployed by the erection of model dwellings for workingmen; the paving and improvement of streets and alleys, and the extension and improvement of parks and playgrounds.

II.

HOME RULE.

- (1) Home rule or cities; including the right of the city to own and operate any and all public utilities; to engage in commercial enterprises of any and all kinds; the right of excess condemnation, both within and outside the city, and the right of two or more cities to co-operate in the ownership and management of public utilities; the city to have the right of issuing bonds for these purposes up to 50% of the assessed valuation, or the right to issue mortgage certificates against the property acquired, said certificates not to count against the bonded indebtedness of the city.

III.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

- (1) The city to acquire as rapidly as possible, own and operate its public utilities, especially street car systems, light, heat, and power plants, docks, wharves, etc.
- Among the things which may be owned and operated by the city to advantage are slaughter houses, bakeries, milk depots, coal and wood yards, ice plants, undertaking establishments and crematories.
- On all public works, eight hour day, trade union wages and progressive improvement in the condition of labor to be established and maintained.

IV.

CITY PLANNING, PLANNING AND HOUSING.

- (1) The introduction of scientific city planning to provide for the development of cities along the most sanitary, economic and attractive lines.
- (2) The city to secure the ownership of land, to plat the same so as to provide for plenty of open space and to erect model dwellings thereon to be rented by the municipality at cost.
- (3) Transportation facilities to be maintained with special reference to the prevention of overcrowding in unsanitary tenements and the creation of slum districts.

V.

PUBLIC HEALTH.

- (1) Inspection of food.
- (2) Sanitary inspection.
- (3) Extension of hospital and free medical treatment.
- (4) Child welfare department, to combat death rate prevailing, especially in working class sections.
- (5) Special attention to eradication of tuberculosis and other contagious diseases.
- (6) System of street toilets and public comfort stations.
- (7) Adequate system of public baths, parks, playgrounds and gymnasiums.

VI.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

- (1) Adequate number of teachers so that classes may not be too large.

- (2) Retirement fund for teachers.
- (3) Adequate school buildings to be provided and maintained.
- (4) Ample playgrounds with instructors in charge.
- (5) Free text books and equipment.
- (6) Penny lunches, and where necessary, free meals and clothing.
- (7) Medical inspection, including free service in the care of eyes, ears, throat, teeth and general health where necessary to insure mental efficiency in the educational work, and special inspection to protect the schools from contagion.
- (8) Baths and gymnasiums in each school.
- (9) Establishment of vacation schools and adequate night schools for adults.
- (10) All school buildings to be open or available for the citizens of their respective communities, at any and all times and for any purpose desired by the citizens, so long as such use does not interfere with the regular school work. All schools to serve as centers for social, civic and recreational purposes.

VII.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC AND VICE.

- (1) Socialization of the liquor traffic; the city to offer a substitute for the social features of the saloon, opportunities for recreation and amusement, under wholesome conditions.
- (2) Abolition of the restricted vice districts.

VIII.

MUNICIPAL MARKETS.

Municipal markets to be established where it is found that by this means a reduction may be secured in the cost of the necessities of life.

What the Social-Democratic Administration in Milwaukee Did for Organized Labor and the Working Class.

The following is a partial list of the labor measures introduced or put into operation by the Milwaukee Socialist administration:

1. Raised the wages of all the city laborers from \$1.75 per day to \$2 per day, and thus fixed the minimum scale.
2. Established the trade union scale of wages for all skilled employees of the city.
3. Established the eight-hour workday by ordinance for all public employees, whether working for the city or by contractors employed by the city.
4. Union labor employed exclusively in all departments wherever mechanics are employed.
5. Raised the wages of 132 employees on the Sixteenth Street viaduct to the union scale.
6. Helped to settle the garment workers' strike.
7. Secured the union label on every piece of public printing.
8. Passed an engineers' license ordinance, for which the engineers' union had been fighting for twenty years. This ordinance forces every engineer to pass an examination, thereby elevating the conditions of the engineer and protecting the lives of thousands of working men and women against careless and incompetent workmen.
9. Passed an ordinance licensing every elevator operator in the city. This ordinance forces every operator to pass an examination, thereby elevating the conditions of the operator and protecting the lives of thousands of patrons of elevators every day against careless and incompetent workmen.
10. Under the county administration the Grand Avenue viaduct was built by union labor.
11. Through the influence of the Socialist members of the County Board of Supervisors the new County Agricultural School will be built by union labor in its entirety.
12. Through the influence of the City Purchasing Department the H. H. West and Siekert & Baum printing and bindery establishments were organized.
13. All horseshoeing done only in union shops by order of the Department of Public Works.
14. Secured an addition of two days "offs" for the policemen each month.
15. The new police and fire alarm posts are now being cast in a union shop and will bear the label of the Molders' International Union. And, incidentally, the posts cost \$10 apiece less than the next lowest bid of a non-union shop—thus saving the taxpayers \$3,000 on the 600 posts and giving us the union label besides.
16. Wherever possible, this administration has done the work of repair, remodeling and building by direct employment, employing union labor.
17. All sprinkling wagons are now repaired and painted directly by the city by union labor, and for the first time in the history of the city they bear the union label.
18. All street refuse cans bear the label of the Sheet Metal Workers' and Painters' International Unions.
19. Every bridgetender in the city, numbering eighty-eight, organized, and where they formerly worked 72 hours to a shift, the majority are now employed on a twelve-hour shift, and all

will be placed on a twelve-hour shift as soon as possible. An attempt was made to increase the wages, but this was defeated by the minority, Republicans and Democrats to a man voting to kill the increase. By a parliamentary trick they succeeded in laying the matter over for two weeks, thereby defeating the increase.

20. Every fireman, engineer, oiler, coal passer and helper in the city and county buildings now belongs to his respective union. Every man is now carrying a union card. And, besides, the men now have one day off in seven, something never before enjoyed, as they formerly worked seven days per week.

21. The C. F. Conway Company of Chicago bid on the asphalt street paving and was the successful bidder, but the administration was informed that this firm was fighting union labor in Chicago for the past three years. The administration succeeded in persuading this firm to yield to union demands and organized its men, not only in Milwaukee, but also in Chicago, thereby materially assisting the engineers and other trades in the street paving industry.

22. All elevator operators working for the city and county have been organized into a union known as Elevator Operators' Union No. 13803 and affiliated with the Federated Trades Council and the American Federation of Labor.

23. The elevator inspectors were induced to join the union of the elevator constructors of Milwaukee.

24. Garbage and ash collectors have been organized through the assistance of the administration.

25. This administration inaugurated a thorough and systematic factory inspection to insure steady improvement of sanitary conditions of labor.

26. Established a child welfare department to help in the problem of childhood through the teaching and assistance of mothers. Reports printed in all papers.

27. Established a tuberculosis commission to help the people in the fight against that dread disease.

What Socialists Have Done in Municipalities.

(National Office Leaflet by Carl D. Thompson).

Socialism is no longer a mere theory in this country.

It has been put to the test.

There are today (September, 1913) Socialist mayors in no less than 34 cities in the United States; more than 250 Socialist aldermen; 106 other municipal officers, including attorneys, treasurers, comptrollers, auditors, trustees, assessors, etc.

In none of these cities have the Socialists been in complete control. Everywhere they have been hampered, restricted and obstructed by minorities, by state laws, by court injunctions. Yet they have made a record. And it is a remarkable record.

If you have read nothing but the capitalist newspapers, you have been told that these Socialist administrations are a dismal failure.

But you want the facts. And the facts are quite different. They are written in the official records of the cities where the Socialists have been in office. There they are, black on white. No dodging them. No denying them.

And we propose to give you a few of these facts—just a few of the more important ones. We give you the facts, and you can judge for yourself whether the Socialists have made good.

1. First Fact. The Socialists Have Given the Cities Absolutely Honest Administrations.—Whatever else has been said against the Socialists and Socialist administrations, everybody admits that they have been honest. No graft, no boodle, no thievery—absolutely honest.

That means a great deal in this country, where every city government is a cesspool of political corruption. Shortly before the Socialists went into office in Milwaukee, there were 254 indictments against Republican and Democratic officials for grafting, bribery, horse-stealing and petty larceny. And there were 23 convictions. There has not been a single case of that sort against the Socialists.

The Socialists put the grafter out of business. In Butte they made the city treasurer turn over \$6,000 of interest on city deposits which had formerly gone into the treasurer's pocket. In Schenectady they knocked the graft out of the

street paving business, and reduced the cost to the city from \$2.16 per square yard to \$1.15. In Milwaukee they did the same trick and saved the city over a quarter of a million dollars on this item alone.

And so everywhere the Socialists have given the cities honest administrations.

That is what you want in your city—an honest administration. You get it from the Socialists. You don't get it from anywhere else. Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party has given American cities honest administrations. They have been on the job for fifty years, both of them, and matters have grown steadily worse all the time. Neither will a combination of the corrupt elements in both old parties give you an honest administration—not even if they drop their old names and call themselves Non-Partisans, or Citizens.

So that is one thing that everybody has to give the Socialists credit for. But, after all, that is the very least of what the Socialists themselves expect. Honesty, however important, is not enough. They must be efficient, they must be able to handle the problems. Have the Socialists been efficient?

2. Second Fact. The Socialists Have Given the Cities Efficient Administrations.—In the matter of business methods, the Socialists were the first to officially introduce modern, up-to-date office and business methods in municipal affairs. The Socialists hadn't been in office a single hour in Milwaukee before they re-organized the department of public works; they introduced a scientific budget and inventory of the city's property, and a method of accounting for every item of property in the different departments. The purchasing department established by the Socialists saved 30 per cent on the city's purchases in Schenectady and \$40,000 in Milwaukee in a single year.

These are simply business methods—efficiency and economy. And that's what you want.

Moreover, the Socialists have fully demonstrated their ability to handle the other problems of the city. They paved more streets, cleaned up more alleys, built more school houses, collected more taxes from the tax-dodgers, exacted more service from the private street car companies, gas light and power monopolies than the other parties ever tried to do.

These are all matters of public record—black on white. If you have any doubts or want any details and facts, our Information Department in the National Office will gladly supply you.

3. Third Fact. The Socialists Greatly Improved Labor Conditions in Their Cities.—In O'Fallon, Ill., they raised the wages of the city employes more than 15 per cent. In Milwaukee they raised the wages of 580 of the common laborers from \$1.75 to \$2.00 per day. In Schenectady they did even better, raising the wages to \$2.25. In Naugatuck, Connecticut, they established the eight-hour day. This was done in practically every city where the Socialists had any considerable number of representatives. Everywhere the Socialists demand the union label on all city printing, and insist on union-made goods. In Milwaukee they raised the wages of library and museum employes; settled the garment workers' strike peacefully and to the advantage of the workers. Mayor Seidel ordered the chief of police not to interfere with the rights of the working girls, and Socialist City Attorney Hoan refused to prosecute the strikers on false and illegal grounds. So they won.

In St. Mary's, Ohio, the Socialists reduced the hours from twelve to eight; raised the firemen's wages from \$50 to \$60 per month, and other municipal employees proportionately.

In Haverhill, Massachusetts, as far back as 1898, the Socialists introduced the principle of direct employment of labor by the city on all public work, as far as possible. This extends all

the benefits of better labor conditions to more of the workers—establishes the eight-hour day and raises the wages to the trade union standard.

Schenectady Socialists raised the wages of the teachers. In Milwaukee they secured extra "offs" for the police, arranged to allow the unemployed and homeless to sleep in the parks, and made a persistent effort to get the city to buy land and build homes to be rented to the workers at cost. And perhaps most important of all, a rigid factory inspection was inaugurated by the health department. Factory inspection by Socialists is quite different from just ordinary factory inspection. The Socialists' inspection got results right off. Inside of a few months, 55 improved ventilation systems were installed to supply fresh air to the workers while at their tasks in the working places. Eighteen suction hoods to draw away gas, smoke and acid fumes were put in operation. Fifty-four new toilets installed, 9 repaired; 30 privy vaults abolished; 65 emery wheels were protected; 50 bakeries were changed and improvements effected in 133 sweatshops.

Everywhere swift and aggressive action in improving labor conditions.

Fourth Fact. The Socialists Improved the Public Health of the Cities.—To this the Socialists always give special attention. The results in a single city are as follows: Four hundred and eight fewer cases of scarlet fever the first year; 324 fewer cases of diphtheria; 1,044 of typhoid, 1,293 of measles, 131 of tuberculosis, etc.; rigid inspection of foods inaugurated; smoke abatement pressed; a new isolation hospital opened; a child welfare department, and a special anti-tuberculosis campaign inaugurated.

Fifth Fact. The Socialists Improved the Financial Condition of the Cities.—It is often claimed that Socialists would bankrupt a city and ruin its credit. As a matter of fact, the records show that without exception the financial conditions of the cities were never so good as while the Socialists were in power. The bonds of the city of Milwaukee sold at several points better under the Socialists than ever before.

In Butte the Socialists found the city about \$1,000,000 in debt, and put it on a sound basis; in Milwaukee they found the city with a \$216,000 deficit and left it with a substantial surplus. In Berkeley the surplus was \$48,000 more at the end of the first term than when the Socialists took hold.

Moreover, the Socialists make the corporations pay their taxes. In Schenectady they boosted the assessments of the big fellows \$3,600,000; in Anaconda the Socialist assessor raised the assessment of the Amalgamated Copper Company from six millions to sixteen millions and doubled the assessments on the railroads.

Sixth Fact. The Socialists Exacted the Best Possible Service from the Public Service Corporation.—Haverhill Socialists forced the gas company to reduce the price of gas from \$1.40 per thousand feet to 80 cents. They also started the fight that compelled the railways to elevate their tracks. In St. Mary's they readjusted the water rates and reduced the electric light rates from 9 cents per k. w. to 7 cents. The Milwaukee Socialists compelled the street car company to sprinkle the streets, to pave and repair them between their tracks, forced a cross-town service, compelled the company to install air brakes and lifting jacks. They forced the reduction of the charges for electricity, compelled the steam railroads to do their share of street paving, and carried through the fight for track elevation and depression.

In contrast to the old party administrations that barter away the people's rights in wanton franchise grants, the Social-

ists have carefully protected every right of the people, and especially of labor, in their franchises, providing ultimately for municipal ownership.

Seventh Fact. The Socialists Developed Public Education.—They built five new modern, up-to-date school houses in Schenectady, raised the wages of the teachers, furnished free textbooks and school supplies, established a dental clinic.

In Milwaukee the Socialists drew upon the state university and a staff of specialists and experts from other states to conduct a bureau of efficiency and economy for the city; installed a university extension department in the city hall; published numerous educational bulletins on health and other subjects of public interest; conducted lectures on civic and social matters in the council chamber of the city hall, and finally conducted a whole week's budget exhibit of exposition for the education of the people in the work of the city. In Naugatuck, Conn., the Socialists raised wages of both teachers and school employees and started a campaign for teacher's pensions.

Eighth Fact. The Socialists Developed Public Recreation and Amusement Facilities.—The public school buildings have been opened and made social and civic centers for lectures, clubs, reading rooms, socials and dances. Band concerts are conducted in the parks in summer and indoor concerts in winter—all free or with a nominal charge. Parks and playgrounds have been increased, public baths and recreation centers developed. Milwaukee conducted municipal dances, and an old-time beer garden was purchased by the city and turned into a public park with a children's playground. A branch of the public library was added, and today the books of child story and song are passed out over the bar where formerly the beer was handed out.

Such are a few of the actual achievements of the Socialists in the cities where they have been in office.

What Schenectady, or Butte, or Berkeley, or Milwaukee can do, any other city can do.

And if through the work of Socialists in the city council the price of water and gas and electricity is reduced, by the same means you may reduce the price of bread and coal and rent and all the other necessities now sold at monopoly prices by the trusts. That will help solve the high cost of living.

And if through the work of a few Socialists in a city council you can raise wages, shorten hours and improve conditions of labor, by the same means you can force the fight into state and national matters and solve the labor problem.

Beat the monopoly and the trust in the city now, and by and by you can beat them in the state and the nation.

Help the Socialists to give the city an honest and efficient administration, and by-and-by you will have an honest administration in the state and nation.

Thus Socialism offers the people of the city the only opportunity to work and to fight for a real solution of the problems that torment the people.

Commendations by Non-Socialists.

Telegram sent from the Milwaukee Evening Wisconsin to the Berkeley (Cal.) Gazette, and published there:

"Milwaukee, March 29.—(Special to the Gazette)—Milwaukee has an honest administration. This, in brief, sums up the political situation in Milwaukee city and county under Socialists' regime. Whatever criticism may be directed at the administration, the impartial ones concede that its officials are honest and conscientious.

"During the last year the Socialists have directed many public improvements, weeded out inefficient city employes and raised

the salaries of those who are competent. The passing of a resolution by the common council to purchase a million-dollar park along the river has brought forth criticism, but business men agree that in twenty years this property will have doubled in value. There are at present between 12,000 and 15,000 unemployed in Milwaukee, but other manufacturing centers report a business depression, which may account for factories running on half time here.

"The return of county fees collected by Socialist officials to the county treasury has brought forth commendation from economists.

"This was never done before in the history of the country. Attempts have been made to solve the social evil problems, and advances have been made in the past year by strict regulation of saloons and dance halls."

A Minister's View.

"The battle between light and darkness is fought out at the ballot box as well as in a man's soul. There is a party of darkness, of vice, of corruption, of crime.

"A majority of the voters of this city evidently believed at the last election that the quickest way to end the rule of darkness was to elect the Social-Democratic ticket.

"Many of them never read Karl Marx. But they evidently did believe the Social-Democrats to be sincere, honest, trustworthy, public spirited, and that they will give us an administration along the lines we are seeking. They represent the new spirit in our national life.

"And I say to our Socialist friends, be honest, efficient, broad-minded, progressive, making haste slowly, and we will vote for you again. We are tired of being ruled by red lights, special interests, absentees. We want to see poverty abolished, every man at work, the sick and dependents taken care of.

"We don't believe the lies that are told about you. We believe you are as moral as we are; that you love your homes and your flag as much as we do. You are American citizens, and our neighbors. You have preached ideals to us; now put them into practice. Be to us the political expression of the Kingdom of God and you may count on the votes of all Christian men."

—Rev. Frederick Edwards, St. James' Episcopal Church.

Ex-President of Harvard University.

"I do not know about the accuracy of some of their theoretical views—I think they are called by a very inaccurate name. But they seem to have a true conception of honest municipal government, not for their own benefit, nor for the benefit of any class, but for the common good."—Former President Eliot of Harvard University, December, 1910, after a visit to the Milwaukee City Hall.

A Fair, Impartial Judgment.

"Justice and fair play demand that it be said that in contrast with the sort of social service and municipal service Milwaukee ever had before this present Seidel administration is wholly excellent.

"And that is the only true criterion. Kansas City is one of the few most fortunate cities in the country in the large measure of its freedom to attend to its own business. The board of public welfare grew from this home rule liberty. Milwaukee has no such freedom. It is governed largely by state laws. Its Socialists cannot set up a Socialist regime. They can simply give honest and efficient administration within the limits of the general laws of the land and the specific acts of the Wisconsin legislature. This last the Socialist administra-

tion has given in a rare degree—as every fair-minded, impartial investigator will tell you.”—Kansas City Star, January 6, 1912. **Professor John Graham Brooks, the Noted Sociologist, Charmed**

With Milwaukee Socialist Administration.

“The Socialists in Milwaukee and Butte are giving these cities the best, the cleanest and most satisfactory business administration in their history and are repairing the damage wrought by years of the old graft regime.

“In Milwaukee the Socialists came into office greatly handicapped. Their city was heavily in debt. They are devoting their efforts wisely, to the cleaning up of this debt and to the general civic clean-up, doing what the government before them did not ‘do.’—Prof. John Graham Brooks.

“I desire to be fair to the Socialist administration,” said the banker, “and therefore will state at the very beginning that for the first time in the history of the city, Milwaukee has an administration free from graft—absolutely open, above board and honest in every particular. I may also say that the administration has shown more intelligence as to municipal science than any other administration the city has ever had. There is an actual and persistent effort to govern the city on highly scientific lines and in this regard the administration has made a deep impression on that portion of the community capable of receiving an intellectual impression of that kind.”—A Milwaukee banker, who wished his name withheld. Quoted from Indianapolis Star.

“I am one of those who believe that the Socialists have given the best administration Milwaukee ever had. No more honest body of men have ever been in public service in America, and every one in Milwaukee knows that.

“All Milwaukee should be eternally grateful for the one group of men who have given the city a decent and efficient administration.”—Professor Charles Zueblin, Sociologist and Lecturer.

(c) SOCIALIST STATE PROGRAM.

The program of the Socialist Party for state legislation has been pretty carefully worked out. The National Conventions of the party have from time to time appointed committees to elaborate the program as a guide to the Socialists that might be elected to the State Legislature. These programs have been modified and improved as a natural result of the experience of its members who have been elected and have served in the various State Legislatures.

The following outline for a state program is the one adopted by the National Convention of the party at Indianapolis this year (1912):

I.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

1. An eight hour day, trades union scale and minimum wage for both sexes.
2. Legalization of the right to strike, picket and boycott.
3. Abolition of the injunction as a means of breaking strikes and the establishment of trial by jury in all labor disputes.
4. Prohibition of the use of the military and the police power to break strikes.
5. Prohibition of the employment of private detective agencies and police forces in labor disputes.
6. The repeal of all military law which surrenders the power of the governor over the militia to the federal authorities.
7. Requirement that in time of labor disputes advertisements for help published by employers shall contain notice of the fact that such labor dispute exists. Provision to be made for the prosecution of person who shall employ workers without informing them that such labor trouble exists.
8. Prohibition of employment of children under the age of sixteen, compulsory education, and the pensioning of widows with minor children where such provision is necessary.
9. The organization of state employment agencies and rigid control of private agencies.
10. Suitable safeguards and sanitary regulations in all occu-

pations with ample provision for frequent and effective inspection of places of employment, machinery and appliances.

11. Old age pensions, sick benefits and accident insurance to be established.

12. Workingmen's compensation laws to be carefully drawn to protect labor.

II.

Home rule for cities.

III. PUBLIC EDUCATION.

1. Compulsory education of both sexes up to the age of sixteen years with adequate provision for further courses where desired.

2. Establishment of vocational and continuation schools and manual training for both sexes.

3. Free text books for teachers and pupils; uniform text books on all subjects to be furnished free to public schools.

4. Physical training through systematic courses of gymnastics and open air exercises. Open air schools and playgrounds.

IV. TAXATION.

1. A graduated income tax; wages and salaries up to \$2,000 to be exempt.

2. Graduated inheritance tax.

3. All land held for speculation and all land not occupied or used by the owners to be taxed up to full rental value.

V. PUBLIC WORKS AND CONSERVATION.

1. For the purpose of developing and preserving the natural resources of the state and offering additional opportunities of labor to the unemployed, the states shall undertake a comprehensive system of public works, such as the building of roads, canals, and the reclamation and irrigation of land. All forests, mineral lands, water ways and natural resources now owned by the states to be conserved and kept for public use.

2. The contract system shall be abolished in all public works, such work to be done by the state directly, all labor to be employed not more than eight hours per day at trade union wages and under the best possible working conditions.

VI. LEGISLATION.

1. The legislature of the state to consist of one house of representatives.

2. The initiative, referendum and recall to be enacted.

VII. EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

1. Unrestricted political rights for men and women.

2. Resident qualification for all elections not to exceed 90 days.

3. The right to vote, not to be contingent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or labor.

VIII. AGRICULTURE.

1. Extension of the state agricultural and experimental farms for crop culture, for the distribution of improved seeds, for the development of fertilizers, for the design and introduction of the best types of farm machinery, and for the encouragement of the breeding of superior types of stock.

2. All land owned by the state to be retained, and other land brought into public ownership and use by reclamation, purchase, condemnation, taxation or otherwise: Such land to be organized into socially operated farms for the conduct of collective agricultural enterprises.

3. Landlords to assess their own land, the state reserving the right to purchase such lands at the assessed value.

4. State insurance against pestilence, disease of animals and plants and against natural calamities.

IX. DEFECTIVES AND DELINQUENTS.

1. The present unscientific and brutal method of treating criminal persons, defectives and delinquents to be replaced by modern scientific and humane methods. This to include the abolition of all death penalties, of the prison contract system, of isolated confinement. Penal institutions to be located in rural localities with adequate healthful open air employment and humane treatment.

State Legislative Work of the Socialist Party.

(National Office Leaflet, By Carl D. Thompson.)

Some folks object to Socialism because they say—it's impractical—it won't work.

We are going to answer that objection.

As a matter of fact the Socialists are the 'most practical people in the world today.

Socialists have the most definite, concrete and comprehensive program for the solution of present-day problems.

We shall make that clear in this leaflet. We shall do so by presenting in the briefest outline the actual achievements of

American Socialists in the legislatures where the party has had representatives.

We shall not refer to the splendid record of Socialists in the numerous municipalities where they have been more or less in power. We shall present here only the results of the Socialist legislative activities as an illustration of their practical work.

What Socialists Have Done.

The Socialists in the state legislatures of this country have accomplished three things:

FIRST—They have actually succeeded in putting into the statute books of the various states some 141 different laws.

SECOND—They have been indirectly instrumental and assisted in putting on many more.

THIRD—They have prepared with great care and completeness the definite, concrete legislative measures that make up the Socialist program.

Thus the specific measures by which the principles of Socialism may be applied have been reduced to the cold letter of the law and deposited in the official records of a dozen different states and, we may add, in Congress of the United States as well.

Twenty-One Socialists in Nine State Legislatures.

Last winter (1913) there were 21 Socialists in nine different state legislatures.

That's a good start, isn't it? We had seven in Wisconsin, four in Illinois, three in Kansas, two in Nevada, and one each in California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana and Washington.

In fact the Socialists have had here and there representatives in the state legislatures since 1899.

In judging of their work and the possibilities in this direction, we must remember that in every case the Socialists were in a hopeless minority—one against 100, or maybe three against 150. And yet they have put things through.

You really could not expect one or two lone Socialists in a state legislature of 150 men to accomplish very much. Especially as the rest of the 150 are for the most part steeped and pickled in capitalism and owned, body and soul, by the monopolies and trusts, or else so uninformed on economic questions as to be easy tools of the capitalist politicians.

Yet, in spite of all that, these Socialists accomplished something. They got things through—and it is no small record of actual achievement.

One Hundred Forty-one Successful Socialist Measures.

Of course, we do not claim all the credit for passing these laws. None of them could have been passed without the votes of others than Socialists—it is true. But these measures, advanced and urged and pushed through by the Socialists, show the practical and constructive nature of the Socialist movement.

The following are the bills introduced by Socialists and PASSED by the state legislatures of one or the other of the states in which the Socialists had representatives, viz., California, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Nevada, Washington and Wisconsin.

I. LABOR MEASURES.

1. Eight-hour day on public contract work (Wisconsin).
2. Ten-hour law for women, 55 hours per week; and in night work not more than eight hours, nor more than 48 hours per week.

3. Better protection on dangerous machinery in factories.
4. Requiring blowers on all emery wheels used in metal polishing trades.
5. Full-crew bill, requiring railways to furnish sufficient men on all trains to adequately handle the work (Wisconsin).
6. Bath houses for miners (Kansas).
7. Requiring employers, in advertising for workmen in time of strike, to mention the fact of the strike being on in their advertisements.
8. Better protection of health and safety of miners (Kansas).
9. Regulating sale and delivery of black powder to miners (Kansas).
10. Workmen's compensation act.
11. Protection of workingmen in the construction of buildings (Minnesota).
12. Better ventilation in factories.
13. Eight-hour day on public contracts (Wisconsin).
14. Making false statement in securing employes a misdemeanor, punishable by fine and imprisonment (Minnesota).
15. Licensing of stationary engineers in the interests of public safety, as well as workingmen.
16. Factory doors must be unlocked during working hours.
17. Requiring employers to install and maintain safety devices.
18. Improved conditions of children working in street trades, as newsboys, etc.
19. Requiring safety appliances on corn shredders, which have been particularly deadly to farm labor.
20. Requiring the keeping of records of injuries to employes.
21. Prohibiting overcrowding of factories and requiring certain safety appliances.
22. Child labor—several measures improving conditions.
23. Prohibiting the use of injunctions in the case of labor troubles (Wisconsin).
24. Defining tuberculosis as a communicable disease so as to bring it within the statistics of the state health department, tuberculosis being regarded by the Socialists as an occupational disease; this measure opens the way for an adequate compensation law (Montana).
25. Requiring employers to reduce the number of hours of labor of children between 14 and 16, in proportion to the number of hours spent in attendance at continuation schools, where such exist.
26. Sunday closing of stores (except groceries and meat markets), releasing clerks and other employes from Sunday drudgery.

II. POLITICAL MEASURES.

1. Partial initiative and referendum; joint resolution calling for constitutional amendment empowering legislature to voluntarily submit measures for popular approval.
2. Initiative and referendum in municipalities.
3. Recall of elected officials in municipalities.
4. Resolution passed by the state Assembly of Illinois expressing sympathy for the Belgian suffrage strike.
5. Making election day a half holiday.

III. MUNICIPAL MEASURES.

1. Home rule for cities. Several measures passed. Measure similar to that drawn by Socialists passed in Illinois.
2. Excess condemnation; granting cities the right to buy and

sell real estate in excess of that required for immediate public purposes (Wisconsin).

3. Giving cities the right to build ice plants.
4. Providing for the appointment of a city forester.
5. Giving cities the right to erect comfort stations.
6. Providing for the abatement of the smoke nuisance.
7. Giving cities the right to build repair docks.

IV. EDUCATIONAL MEASURES.

1. School lunches, giving cities the right to provide (Massachusetts).
2. Compulsory attendance at schools.
3. Minimum wage for teachers.
4. Free night schools (Kansas).
5. Compulsory education of illiterate minors (Wisconsin).

V. JUDICIAL MEASURES.

A number of measures making the securing of justice through the courts cheaper and easier for the workingmen.

1. Raising the amount of damages that may be awarded in cases of employes killed by accident from \$5,000 to \$10,000 (Wisconsin).
2. Eliminating the requirement of security bond in case of damage suit against the city.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Mothers' pension law, passed in a modified form (Massachusetts).
2. Provision for better care of neglected children in Nevada.
3. Old age pensions were provided for by measures passed in Kansas and Wisconsin. In the former state it was a memorial addressed to Congress and in the latter it provides for an investigation of the subject.
4. State life insurance. Wisconsin is now in the life insurance business.
5. Taxation. Twelve bills were introduced and passed in Wisconsin readjusting the basis of taxation to the full valuation.
6. Pensions for the blind.
7. A law providing for the proper organization and conduct of co-operative enterprises.
8. Public ownership of railways; a measure introduced by the Socialists in the Minnesota legislature, authorizing Cook county, of that state, to build a railway.
9. Loans to farmers; a joint resolution passed in the Wisconsin legislature petitioning Congress to permit loans to farmers of 30 per cent of the postal savings deposits.
10. Resolution urging government ownership of coal mines (passed Massachusetts House).

The Complete Program Will Follow.

A hundred and forty-one measures of that kind, secured by the merest minority of representatives, is surely a good beginning.

But it is only the beginning.

The measures mentioned above are, after all, only the less important parts of the program of Socialism. They are such as the old party politicians thought they were compelled to pass, throwing them out as a sop to the growing Socialist sentiment in the country. They hope thereby to stop Socialism, not to advance it.

We want no one to think that these sops are Socialism.

By no means. We want something more than sops. We want the whole soup.

We are going to take all the sops they give and thereby gain strength to get the whole feed.

But the point we are making here, is that the Socialist program is perfectly practical. It wins something right away—is winning more and more every day. Fighting it out on this line will win the victory over the monopoly and the trust and finally overthrow capitalism.

The Socialists will push their campaigns. They will elect more representatives in the states where they already have them. They will win seats in new states. They will capture cities. Later they will control state legislatures and, finally, the United States Congress and the Supreme Court.

The rest is easy.

Meanwhile every step will be marked by some additional gain. We do not need to wait for final victory before we begin to get results. The record above abundantly demonstrates that.

And as their power and influence grows, the more vital and effective measures of the program will go through.

The eight-hour day on the public works is followed by the eight-hour day on contract work for the public. The next step will be a universal eight-hour day.

State life insurance will be followed by state insurance against accident, sickness, out of work and old age.

The ten-hour day for women will be followed by the eight-hour day, and later by the six-hour day, perhaps.

The right of a city to own a gas plant will be followed by the right of the city to own and operate all public utilities.

Cities acting under the freedom of home rule will take over one after the other of their public utilities. Hundreds of them are doing so already, all over the world. It is perfectly practical. Socialism will push the tendency to its logical conclusion.

As each utility is taken over, wages will be raised, hours shortened, the conditions improved and the rates reduced. This is exactly what is happening on a small scale everywhere. Socialists will push it on a large scale.

States under the direction of this Socialist program, and finally the nation, will take over one after the other of their public utilities, mines, railroads, interurban electric lines, power plants, telegraph and telephone systems, waterways, forests. And all this may be done by methods perfectly legal and constitutional.

Just as the government already owns and operates the postal system; just as the public schools are publicly owned and operated; just as more than seventy nations already own and successfully operate their railway systems; so Socialism will push the program until all public utilities—municipal, state and national—are publicly owned and democratically operated.

And as each of these utilities are taken over, the Socialists will see to it that the workers are guaranteed the right to organize, wages are raised, hours shortened, conditions improved and the cost of the service reduced. The profits arising from the operation of each public utility will be used in the further extension of the utility or in the purchase of other utilities, until all are socialized. The returns to labor may then be further increased and the cost of living reduced until profits are eliminated and all unearned incomes abolished.

And so on until economic justice is established and the gates of the co-operative commonwealth are opened to the people of this nation.

Is this not a practical program?

There is nothing else that is practical.

(d) SOCIALIST NATIONAL PROGRAM.**A Socialist in Congress.**

In the November election of 1910 the Socialists of Milwaukee succeeded in electing Victor L. Berger to the United States Congress from the Fifth Wisconsin District. He was the first Socialist ever elected to that body.

Congressman Berger served the regular term of two years. His record serves to complete the outlined illustration of the legislative program of the Socialist party as shown by the representatives of the party in office.

One Against Five Hundred.

In judging the work of Congressman Berger, the fact that he was only one member out of a total of 392 in the House of Representatives should be considered.

And this was not the only limitation by any means. There were not only 391 Representatives against him, there were 96 Senators also absolutely opposed to him on all vital and economic questions.

It was practically five hundred against one. For while there are a few representatives in the House of Representatives who are trades unionists, are supposed to be representatives of the working class, yet in their voting, their arguments and in their way of thinking they differ in no way from the representatives of the old capitalistic parties.

I. LABOR MEASURES.

1. Resolution to Investigate the Lawrence Strike Situation. —In the latter part of 1911 and the early part of 1912, there occurred among the textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, a most serious and remarkable strike. When the appalling conditions, the starvation wages, the brutal treatment of men, women and little children and the wanton killing of a woman by the police and militia became known to Congressman Berger, he at once took the matter up in Congress. He introduced a resolution to have a commission investigate "The Relations of the American Woolen Company to the Strike of Its Operatives at Lawrence, Massachusetts."

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Rules and before this committee hearings were held that in themselves served as an investigation. They brought out in an official way the condition in Lawrence. The hearings were published in File 464 of a special report, known as Document No. 671, on "The Strike at Lawrence, Mass."

Labor Conditions and the Tariff.

For half a century our protective tariff politicians have urged a high tariff on the ground of its alleged benefits to labor. Here is the man to put their proposition to a final test. And he did it in the case of the woolen industries in such a way as to leave not an iota of doubt or question remaining.

"The American Woolen Company," he said in his statement in the hearing on the Lawrence strike (page 9), "has for years been the recipient of a government subsidy in the form of a high tariff. The claim has been made that this high tariff is levied in order to protect labor. Yet in spite of this claim it is generally conceded that these operatives are among the lowest paid of those of any industry in America. * * * It can be shown that not only do highly protected industries pay extremely low wages in the face of a constant rise in the cost of living, but also that the tendency is to pay lower wages compared with an

increased product, and to get more work out of the workers by constantly speeding them up."

The facts brought out by the investigation of the appalling conditions of the textile workers at Lawrence, reviewed above, and further facts presented by Congressman Berger in his speeches and debates on the various tariff measures, served to rip the mask off this monstrous hypocrisy of our government's policy and leave it completely exposed.

He said frankly: "I am no free trader. I hold that under the present capitalist system of industry a sudden and violent reduction of tariff schedules would in almost every case be disastrous to the workers.

"Here is a case, however, where one of the most highly protected industries in America, which begs its tariff protection from Congress on the ground of benefiting the wage earners, deliberately forces down wages to the starvation point." And on that ground he maintained his stand for reduction of the tariff, especially on the highly protected industries while not advocating free trade.

2. Eight-hour Day for All Labor Employed on Government Contract Work.

3. A General Old Age Pension Bill.—The fact that many of the progressive countries already have some such legislation as this tended to greatly strengthen Mr. Berger's position. The introduction of the bill started a widespread and mostly favorable discussion of the whole subject.

4. The Right of Postal Employees of Government to Organize and Petition Congress.—The public must be the model employer. A government in the control of capitalistic interests might take over public utilities, suppress the right of organization, free speech and petition and thus become the most tyrannous of labor oppressions. This tendency has manifested itself already on the public railways in foreign countries where the right of the workers to organize and strike has been violently suppressed. And as a matter of fact these rights are being denied here in America.

They must be maintained at all hazards. They are vital to the cause of labor and fundamental to the purpose of Socialism.

5. A Bill to protect the Women Wage Workers in the District of Columbia.—This provides for an eight-hour day, for one day's rest in each week, prohibiting the employment of girls under eighteen years of age before seven in the morning or after six at night.

6. Protest Against Starvation Wages.—In a speech in the House, January 14, 1912, Mr. Berger denounced the Democratic appropriation bill for the District of Columbia because of the extremely low wages provided for some of the public employes. Some were getting as low as \$240 a year.

A similar protest was made in a speech on March 4, 1912, against the low wages paid to the employes in the Department of Agriculture.

7. For Better Conditions for the Workers.—In the bill introduced by Mr. Berger for a new post office building at Waukesha, Wisconsin, the spirit of the Socialist legislation is again illustrated. Careful provision was made in the drafting of the bill for the comfort, health and convenience of the workers.

Other measures providing for the comfort and convenience of the workers were introduced. An amendment to pending legislation was introduced by Mr. Berger on May 1, 1912, to permit postal employes to use stools for at least two hours a day. And the amendment came near carrying. The vote stood 35 for to 55 against.

Mr. Berger's efforts to secure relief for the mail carriers from their hot and heavy uniforms in summer was even more

successful. In this case he took the matter up directly with the Post Office Department, and secured a modification of the hitherto strict orders.

8. Providing an Automatic Reward for Faithful Service.—On April 19, 1912, Mr. Berger introduced an amendment providing for the automatic promotion of all postal employes from the \$1,100 grade to the \$1,200 grade. This amendment also came very near to success, the vote being 33 for to 45 against.

9. The One Day's Rest in Seven.—Besides other labor measures in which one day's rest in seven was sought for the employes in the District of Columbia, Mr. Berger took up the matter of providing a six-day week for all government employes. The matter came up in connection with an investigation which Berger made, revealing the fact that many of the employes, especially in the Treasury Department, were compelled to work seven days in the week.

10. Helping in Labor Troubles and Disputes.—One of the first things Mr. Berger did was to introduce a resolution demanding an investigation of the McNamara case. He also introduced a bill to prevent kidnapping of labor officials.

11. To Solve the Problem of the Unemployed.—The features of Congressman Berger's bill are as follows: (a) The United States government is to issue and loan money to county, city and town governments enabling them to inaugurate public improvements. (b) These loans are to pay interest at one-half per cent per annum, and shall be redeemed in twenty equal annual installments. (c) Loans to be secured by special bonds issued by the local governments. (d) Upon this basis the Secretary of the Treasury shall issue a special currency to be known as "Public Improvements Notes" to be loaned to the local governments. Each year the secretary shall withdraw from circulation and destroy an amount of this currency equal to the value of the bonds redeemed. (e) And finally the bill provided that the work undertaken under these loans shall be carried out with an eight-hour work day and at not less than the prevailing union rate of wages.

II. THE TRUST PROBLEM—THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION.

The Socialist solution of the Trust Problem is outlined in the bill presented in Congress by Mr. Berger on December 4, 1912.

The plan proposes that whenever any corporation or combination reaches a point where it controls forty per cent of the output or service in its line, then it shall be acquired, owned and operated by the United States Government for the benefit of the whole people.

In this connection special mention should be made of Congressman Berger's bill for the government ownership of the railroads, express, telegraph and telephone companies.

Victor Berger, the Socialist Congressman from Milwaukee, introduced in the House of Representatives a bill embodying the following features:

"The government shall immediately proceed to take over the government of all the trusts that control more than forty per cent of the business in their respective lines.

The price to be paid for these industries shall be fixed by a commission of fifteen experts, whose duty it shall be to determine the actual cash value of the physical properties.

Payment for the properties shall be offered in the form of United States bonds, bearing two per cent interest payable in fifty years, and a sinking fund shall be established to retire the bonds at maturity.

In the event of the refusal of any trust owner or owners to

sell to the government his or their properties at the price fixed by the commission of experts, the President of the United States is authorized to use such measures as may be necessary to gain and hold possession of the properties.

A Bureau of Industries is hereby created within the Department of Commerce and Labor to operate all industries owned by the government."

III. THE REAL DEMOCRACY.

There are five features in the Socialist program upon this point: (1) Direct legislation, including the recall; (2) the abolition of the United States Senate; (3) limitation of the power of the Supreme Court; (4) universal adult (including woman) suffrage; and (5) a national constitutional convention.

A moment's consideration on the part of any student of our forms of government will show that each of these steps constitute an essential part of struggle for democracy. None can be omitted. All should be co-ordinated. And this is exactly what the Socialist does.

1. Direct Legislation.—The initiative, referendum and the recall are today pretty popular ideas among the people.

But most people do not know that these ideas in their modern concrete form originated with the Socialist movement and have not only been preached but practiced by the Socialists and the workers in their organizations for half a century.

So when Congressman Berger introduced in the United States Congress an amendment to the constitution providing for the introduction of the broad principle of direct legislation into the federal system of government, he was only completing in concrete form the universal program of Socialism for the establishment of political democracy.

2. Abolish the United States Senate.—Any number of studies of the history of the United States Senate as well as all the bitter experiences of recent years established the fact that the United States Senate not only serves no purpose in the direction of democracy, but is actually a hindrance to democracy—a "check," as it is called.

Our reformers have been trying to remedy this by having the Senators elected directly by the people. However, this so-called remedy is only superficial. Abolish the Senate.

3. Limit the Power of the Supreme Court.—Socialist Congressman Berger has pointed out the way.

When he introduced his bill for old age pensions he appended a section as follows: "That in accordance with Section a, Article 3, of the Constitution, and the precedent established by the act of Congress passed over the President's veto March 27, 1868, the exercise of jurisdiction by any of the federal courts upon the validity of this act is hereby expressly forbidden."

The precedent referred to was a case relative to certain of the reconstruction laws which grew out of the Civil War. The Supreme Court had in that case been expressly prohibited from passing upon the validity of the acts. The Supreme Court itself held unanimously at that time that the prohibition was valid and declined to pass on the constitutionality of the laws in question.

Thus an entirely new principle is established. The power of the Supreme Court to annul legislation exists only so long as Congress consents to or permits it.

The remedy is simply for Congress to expressly prohibit it.

4. Woman's Suffrage.—Socialists the world over have always felt that there could be no such thing as democracy where one-half of the adult population are denied the ballot.

As a matter of course, therefore, they have always fought for the ballot for woman.

In accord with this general position of the Socialist movement, Congressman Berger presented in Congress a resolution for a constitutional amendment providing for woman's suffrage. This he later backed up by a monster petition, probably the largest petition ever presented to Congress, signed by 109,582 individuals and by organizations representing approximately 7,500 more—a total of 116,582.

5. **A National Convention.**—As a final means of correcting quickly the many defects of our present national constitution and thus making progress more easy and effective, it is also proposed that a national constitutional convention be called.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS MEASURES.

1. **The Municipal Government of Washington, D. C.**—Mr. Berger was made a member of the committee to investigate misrule and mismanagement of the local administration of Washington. The result of the investigations that followed was a number of measures intended to improve the condition of the city industrially as well as in a civic way.

2. **The Case of Judge Hanford.**—Another matter that called forth the aggressive action of Congressman Berger was the case of the misconduct of Federal Judge Hanford of Seattle, Washington.

Immediately upon hearing of his official misconduct, Congressman Berger demanded his impeachment and removal. He charged the judge with an unlawful usurpation of power in annulling the naturalization papers of one Leonard Oleson on the frivolous charge that he was a Socialist; with rendering corrupt decisions; with habitual drunkenness, and with issuing fraudulent injunctions.

That these charges were well founded was shown by subsequent events. The judge resigned in an evident attempt to escape impeachment.

V. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PEACE.

Among the first duties of Congressman Berger was the presentation of a resolution asking the President of the United States to withdraw the troops from the Mexican border. Another measure was a resolution to terminate the treaty of 1887 between the United States and Russia.

In a carefully prepared statement given out to the press, Mr. Berger showed how the Socialist movement in foreign countries had already prevented several wars and how, as their power increased, they would soon be in a position to prevent and certainly would prevent all wars of mere capitalistic aggression.

There are two terrific forces that the Socialists will use—the power of their representatives in the parliaments of the various nations, already numerous enough in many countries to hold the balance of power, and the power of the organized workers of a nation using the weapon of the general strike.

Both these forces are growing every day. The solid vote of a Socialist group in a national parliament against a war measure, would already make it impractical in some countries. But a general strike against a war would absolutely paralyze a nation that undertook it.

BERGER'S BILLS.

Special Session, April 4-Aug. 22, 1911.

April 5—(H. J. Res. 29) Joint resolution demanding withdrawal from the Mexican border.

April 19—(H. J. Res. 71) Joint resolution for a constitutional amendment giving Congress the right to call a constitutional convention.

- April 25—(H. Con. Res. 61) Concurrent resolution demanding an investigation of the kidnapping of John J. McNamara.
 April 27—(H. J. Res. 79) Joint resolution for a constitutional amendment abolishing the Senate and the veto power of the President and of the Supreme Court.
 May 17—(H. R. 9765) Bill for the erection of a postoffice in Waukesha, Wisconsin, "with such structural conveniences as will contribute to the safety and comfort of the men and women to be employed there."
 May 22—(H. R. 10441) Bill to regulate woman and child labor in the District of Columbia.
 May 30—(H. R. 10863) Bill to revise the interstate extradition law.
 June 8—(H. R. 11382) Bill to transfer the speaker's automobile to the District of Columbia Committee.
 July 28—(H. R. 13043) Bill to prohibit employment of children by the Federal Government.
 July 31—(H. R. 13114) Bill to provide old-age pensions.
 July 31—(H. J. Res. 138) Joint resolution for appointment of a commission to report on old-age pensions.

Regular Session of Dec. 4, 1911.

- December 4—(H. R. 14079) Bill to repeal the anti-trust act and to provide for the social ownership and operation of certain industries.
 December 20—(H. J. Res. 192) Joint resolution for the termination of the treaty of 1887-93 between the United States and Russia.

1912—

- January 9—(H. R. 17476) Bill to create a public store in Washington for civil service employees.
 January 16—(H. J. Res. 213) Joint resolution for a constitutional amendment extending the suffrage to women.
 January 16—(H. Res. 376) House resolution directing the Commissioner of Labor to prepare a report on old-age pensions.
 January 31—(H. R. 19126) Bill for government ownership and operation of railroads, telegraphs, telephones and expressses.
 February 1—(H. Res. 404) House resolution to investigate the strike on the Harriman railroad lines.
 February 5—(19479) Bill for local self-government in the District of Columbia.
 February 7—(H. Res. 409) House resolution to investigate the Lawrence strike.
 February 23—(H. Res. 422) House resolution to investigate the Treasury Department's attitude toward the government mints.
 April 24—(H. R. 23716) Bill for government ownership of wireless telegraphs.
 June 7—(H. Res. 576) House resolution for the impeachment of Judge Cornelius H. Hanford.
 July 10—(H. R. 25680) A bill to provide for the employment of all willing workers and for other purposes.

5. Progress of Woman Suffrage.

States Having Full Suffrage.

Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona and Kansas and Alaska Territory.

States Having School Suffrage.

Kentucky (to widows with children of school age), Minnesota, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, New Jersey, Illinois, Connecticut, Ohio, Wisconsin, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Delaware (to taxpaying women).

States Having Limited or Qualified Suffrage.

Illinois, full municipal and partial county, state and federal suffrage; Montana, taxpaying suffrage; Iowa, bond suffrage; Minnesota, library trustees; Louisiana, tax suffrage to women taxpayers; New York, taxpaying suffrage, local taxation in all towns and villages in the state; New York, women in all towns, villages and third-class cities vote on bonding propositions.

Countries Having Full Suffrage.

New Zealand, New South Wales, Tasmania, Queensland, Australia, Victoria and Finland; Denmark, Norway, Iceland, women over 25 years of age.

Countries Having Municipal Suffrage.

New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, British Columbia, Northwest Territory, Ontario, Sweden, Honduras, Capital City of Belize.

Countries Having Limited or Qualified Suffrage.

The following countries have municipal suffrage to widows and single women: England, Scotland, Province of Quebec.

The women of the following countries have limited or qualified suffrage: Isle of Man, parliamentary; England, county; Scotland, county; England, parish and district to widows and single women; Ireland, to all offices except to member of parliament; France, women engaged in commerce can vote for judges of the tribunal of commerce; Belgium, vote for members of the Conseils des Prudhommes; Province of Voralberg, single women and widows paying taxes; Scotland, county suffrage; Bosnia, parliamentary vote to women owning a certain amount of real estate; Province of Krain (Austria), suffrage to the women of its capital city, Liabaca; Kingdom of Wurtemberg, women engaged in agriculture vote for members of the Chamber of Agriculture; India (Gaekwar of Baroda), women of his dominions vote in municipal elections.

States Where Amendment Is Now Before Voters.

| | House. | Senate. | Goes to Voters. |
|-----------------------------|--------|---------|-----------------|
| Montana | 75-2 | 15-2 | 1914 |
| Nebraska by initiative..... | | | 1914 |
| Nevada | 49-3 | 19-3 | 1914 |
| North Dakota | 77-29 | 31-19 | 1914 |
| South Dakota | 70-30 | 41-2 | 1914 |

States Where Amendment Has Passed One Legislature and Must Pass Another.

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------|-------|------|
| Iowa | 81-26 | 31-15 | 1916 |
| Massachusetts | 168-39 | 34-2 | 1915 |
| New Jersey | 49-4 | 15-3 | 1914 |
| New York | 125-5 | 40-2 | 1915 |
| Pennsylvania | 131-70 | 26-22 | 1915 |

States Where Initiative Petitions Are Under Way.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Missouri | 1914 |
| Ohio | 1914 |
| Oklahoma | 1914 |

APPENDIX

1. Area and Population of United States.

(Statistics of the United States—World Almanac, 1912.)

| | Sq. miles. | Population. | | Sq. miles. | Population. |
|-----------|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| 1800..... | 827,844 | 5,308,483 | 1860..... | 3,025,600 | 31,443,321 |
| 1810..... | 1,999,775 | 7,239,881 | 1870..... | 3,025,600 | 38,588,371 |
| 1820..... | 2,059,043 | 9,638,453 | 1880..... | 3,025,600 | 50,155,783 |
| 1830..... | 2,059,043 | 12,866,020 | 1890..... | 3,025,600 | 62,622,250 |
| 1840..... | 2,059,043 | 17,069,453 | 1900..... | 3,025,600 | 76,303,387 |
| 1850..... | 2,980,959 | 23,191,876 | 1910..... | 3,026,789 | 93,346,543 |

2 Statistics of the United States.

(From the World Almanac, 1912.)

Area, square miles, 3,026,789.

Population, 93,346,543.

Population per square mile, 30.99.

Wealth, \$107,104,211,917.

Wealth per capita, \$1,310.11.

Public debt, less cash in Treasury, \$1,046,449,185.

Public debt per capita, \$11.35.

Interest-bearing debt, \$913,317,490.

Annual interest charge, \$21,275,602.

Interest per capita, \$0.23.

Total circulation of money, \$3,102,355,605.

Per capita, \$34.33.

Deposits in national banks, \$5,287,216,312.

Deposits in savings banks, \$4,070,486,247.

Depositors in savings banks, 9,142,708.

Value of farm products, \$8,926,000,000.

Manufacturing establishments, 268,491 (from Census 1910).

Value of product, \$20,672,052,000 (from Census 1910).

Commercial failures, 12,652.

Amount of liabilities, \$201,757,097.

Immigrants arrived, 1,041,570.

3. Expenditures for Education During School Years 1907-8 and 1908-9.

(U. S. Statistical Abstract for 1910, page 98.)

1907-8—

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------|
| Salaries of teachers | \$219,780,123 |
| Total expenditure | 371,344,410 |

1908-9—

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Salaries of teachers..... | \$237,013,913 |
| Total expenditure | 401,397,747 |
| Total expenditure for education for the two years..... | 772,742,157 |
| Total expenditure for war during the same years (Statistical Abstract for 1910, page 678)..... | 847,999,918 |
| Expenditure per capita for education, Tribune Almanac for 1912, page 427..... | 4.45 |

The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1911 gives the following figures:

Average annual cost per **pupil** in day schools, based on average attendance:

\$23.40 to \$44.75; secondary schools, from \$43.95 to \$102.03.

In cities of over 100,000 population, elementary schools—From \$14.08 to \$41.11; secondary schools, \$32.50 to \$92.78.

In cities of from 10,000 to 25,000 population—Elementary schools, \$11.27 to \$39.52; secondary schools, \$31.67 to \$79.77.

Salaries of teachers, average per month in 1910—Men, \$33.23; women, \$31.65.

4. Urban and Rural Population.

(Thirteenth Census of United States.)

| Year. | Per cent urban. | Per cent rural. |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1880 | 29.5 | 70.5 |
| 1890 | 36.1 | 63.9 |
| 1900 | 40.5 | 59.5 |
| 1910 | 46.3 | 53.7 |

This table shows the irresistible gravitation of the rural population towards and into the cities. Thirty years ago 70 per cent of our population was in the rural districts, and only 30 per cent in the cities; now less than 54 per cent is rural, and over 46 per cent is urban.

5. Cost of Government.

(Table of appropriations prepared by the clerks to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House of Representatives. Quoted from Republican Campaign Book, 1910, page 96.)

| Title. | Year 1909-10. |
|--|-------------------|
| Agriculture | \$ 12,995,036.00 |
| Army | 101,195,883.34 |
| Fortification | 8,170,111.00 |
| Military Academy | 2,531,521.33 |
| Navy | 126,907,049.00 |
| Pension | 160,988,000.00 |
| Diplomatic and consular | 3,613,861.67 |
| District of Columbia | 10,699,531.49 |
| Indian | 11,854,982.48 |
| Legislative, etc. | 32,007,049.00 |
| Postoffice | 231,692,370.00 |
| River and harbor | 8,435,750.00 |
| Sundry civil | 137,696,623.36 |
| Total | \$ 862,735,918.72 |
| Deficiency, 1910 and prior..... | 20,310,339.92 |
| Total | \$ 883,046,258.64 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,259,515.96 |
| Total regular annual appropriations..... | 884,305,774.60 |
| Permanent annual appropriations..... | 160,096,082.52 |

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| Grand total | \$1,044,401,857.12 |
| Amount of estimated revenues for fiscal year 1911. | 233,058,572.37 |
| Total of estimated revenues for fiscal year 1911... | 905,058,572.37 |

In the table on appropriations note that the appropriations for war (army, fortifications, military academy, navy and pensions) is about half of the total appropriations.

INCREASED COST OF GOVERNMENT.

| | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| In 1880 | \$ 372,119,629.30 |
| In 1890 | 385,522,367.61 |
| In 1900 | 690,667,188.54 |
| In 1910 | 1,044,401,857.12 |

6. New Wealth Produced Annually in the United States.

From several sources we have gathered the following figures, which must be taken as only partial and tentative:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Agriculture (all crops, including cotton, sugar, etc.) | |
| est. 1910, The International Whitaker..... | \$ 8,928,000,000 |
| Manufactures (value added), Bureau of Census Report, 1912 | 8,530,261,000 |
| Minerals (all metals and petroleum products), prepared by U. S. Geological Survey..... | 2,003,744,869 |
| Timber and wood, World Almanac, 1913..... | 1,250,000,000 |
| Total | \$20,712,005,869 |

7. Railway Capital, 1888 to 1911, as Reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

| Year. | Stock. | Funded Debt. | Total Capital. |
|-----------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1888..... | \$3,864,468,055 | \$ 4,265,319,676 | \$ 8,129,787,731 |
| 1889..... | 4,251,190,719 | 4,763,984,655 | 9,015,175,374 |
| 1890..... | 4,409,658,485 | 5,027,684,935 | 9,437,343,420 |
| 1891..... | 4,450,649,027 | 5,378,825,988 | 9,829,475,015 |
| 1892..... | 4,633,108,763 | 5,593,639,371 | 10,226,748,134 |
| 1893..... | 4,668,935,418 | 5,837,299,992 | 10,506,235,410 |
| 1894..... | 4,834,075,659 | 5,962,398,154 | 10,796,473,813 |
| 1895..... | 4,961,258,656 | 6,002,325,729 | 10,963,584,385 |
| 1896..... | 5,226,527,269 | 5,340,338,502 | 10,566,865,771 |
| 1897..... | 5,364,642,255 | 5,270,365,819 | 10,635,008,074 |
| 1898..... | 5,388,268,321 | 5,430,285,710 | 10,818,554,031 |
| 1899..... | 5,515,011,726 | 5,518,943,172 | 11,033,954,898 |
| 1900..... | 5,845,579,593 | 5,645,455,367 | 11,491,034,960 |
| 1901..... | 5,806,566,204 | 5,881,580,887 | 11,688,147,091 |
| 1902..... | 6,024,201,295 | 6,109,981,669 | 12,134,182,964 |
| 1903..... | 6,155,559,032 | 6,444,431,226 | 12,599,990,258 |
| 1904..... | 6,339,899,329 | 6,873,225,350 | 13,213,124,679 |
| 1905..... | 6,554,557,051 | 7,250,701,070 | 13,805,258,121 |
| 1906..... | 6,803,760,093 | 7,766,661,385 | 14,570,421,478 |
| 1907..... | 7,356,861,691 | 8,725,284,992 | 16,082,146,683 |
| 1908..... | 7,373,212,323 | 9,393,332,504 | 16,767,544,827 |
| 1909..... | 7,687,278,545 | 9,801,590,390 | 17,487,868,935 |
| 1910..... | 8,113,717,611 | 10,303,474,858 | 18,417,132,238 |
| 1911..... | 8,470,717,611 | 10,738,217,470 | 19,208,935,081 |

Note—Previous to 1896 current liabilities were included in railway capital under the head of funded debt. Since 1895 this item has not been included in capital account. Current liabilities in 1895 increased the total of railway capital by more than six hundred million dollars.

8. Railway Dividends, 1888 to 1911, as Reported by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

| Year. | Per cent of stock paying dividends. | Amount of stock paying dividends. | Amount paid in dividends. | Average stock. paying dividend rate paid on |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 1888..... | 38.56 | \$1,490,267,149 | \$80,238,065 | 5.38 |
| 1889..... | 38.33 | 1,629,750,927 | 82,110,198 | 5.04 |
| 1890..... | 36.24 | 1,598,131,933 | 87,071,613 | 5.45 |
| 1891..... | 40.36 | 1,796,390,636 | 91,117,913 | 5.07 |
| 1892..... | 39.40 | 1,825,705,437 | 97,614,745 | 5.35 |
| 1893..... | 38.76 | 1,809,600,846 | 100,929,885 | 5.58 |
| 1894..... | 36.57 | 1,767,925,565 | 95,515,226 | 5.40 |
| 1895..... | 29.94 | 1,485,618,453 | 85,287,543 | 5.74 |
| 1896..... | 29.83 | 1,559,024,075 | 87,603,371 | 5.62 |
| 1897..... | 29.90 | 1,603,549,978 | 87,110,599 | 5.43 |
| 1898..... | 33.74 | 1,818,113,082 | 96,152,889 | 5.29 |
| 1899..... | 40.61 | 2,239,502,545 | 111,009,822 | 4.96 |
| 1900..... | 45.66 | 2,668,969,895 | 139,597,972 | 5.23 |
| 1901..... | 51.27 | 2,977,575,179 | 156,735,784 | 5.26 |
| 1902..... | 55.40 | 3,337,644,681 | 185,391,655 | 5.55 |
| 1903..... | 56.06 | 3,450,737,869 | 196,728,176 | 5.70 |
| 1904..... | 57.47 | 3,643,427,319 | 221,941,049 | 6.09 |
| 1905..... | 62.84 | 4,119,086,714 | 237,964,482 | 5.78 |
| 1906..... | 66.54 | 4,526,958,760 | 272,795,974 | 6.03 |
| 1907..... | 67.27 | 4,948,756,203 | 308,088,627 | 6.23 |
| 1908..... | 65.69 | 4,843,370,740 | 390,695,351 | 8.07 |
| 1909..... | 64.01 | 4,920,174,118 | 321,071,626 | 6.53 |
| 1910..... | 66.71 | 5,412,578,457 | 405,771,416 | 7.50 |
| 1911..... | 67.65 | 5,730,250,326 | 460,195,376 | 8.03 |

Note—For 1908 and the years following, the figures do not include returns for switching and terminal companies.

9. Size of Families in the United States.

According to the Census of 1900, there were in the country at large, 16,739,797 families of which

- 17.5 per cent were composed of 3 persons.
- 17.0 per cent were composed of 4 persons.
- 14.2 per cent were composed of 5 persons.
- 10.8 per cent were composed of 6 persons.
- 7.7 per cent were composed of 7 persons.





